INTRODUCTION

JUSTIN'S *First Apology* is one of the earliest extant in the annals of Christianity. Right from the start the reader cannot but admire its author's courage, his firmness of purpose, his love for truth, righteousness, and wisdom.

The petition is addressed to the Emperor, the Emperor's sons, the sacred Senate and the whole Roman people. The petitioner is 'Justin, the son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius of the city of Flavia Neapolis in Syria-Palestine.'[1] He is just 'one of those men of every race[2] who are unjustly hated and mistreated.'

He fearlessly states that his discourse contains neither words of flattery nor a request for favors. The purpose of his petition is to prove that truth and right are equal for all men and to demand that all should be treated equally; that the guardians of justice and lovers of wisdom must dispassionately base their judgment on truth, and truth alone, rather than on irrational impulse or evil rumors. Not without a flair of satire he states: 'Common sense dictates that they who are truly pious men and philosophers [such as state authorities should be] must honor and cherish what is true, . . . rulers should pass judgment not through force and tyranny, but in accordance with piety and philosophy.' He demands that, in every individual case, 'the accusations against the Christians receive unbiased examination, and if proved true, they should be punished as any guilty person', . . . 'sane reason, on the other hand,'

1 Justin was apparently a Roman citizen, cf. Foreword p. 10
2 Refers to the Catholicity of Christianity.

he declares, 'does not allow that injustice is done to innocent men just because of mischievous rumors'; no one should be condemned unheard for merely carrying a name [Christian]; for, a name without supporting deeds is but an empty shell. 'As far as we [Christians] are concerned,' he states, 'we believe that no evil can befall us unless we be proved to be criminals and sinful persons,' adding the proud words, 'you, indeed, may be able to kill us, but you cannot harm us.'

Some scholars like O. Bardenhewer[3] and G. Rauschen[4] do not find a strict sequence and clear exposition of thoughts in this *Apology*. Others like T. H. Wehofer[5] and A. Erhard[6] hold that Justin had composed his petition according to a preconceived plan.[7] Even if we concede that the material brought forth by Justin is not arranged in an exact order, one may see three sets[8] of ideas developed in its sixty-eight chapters.

In Chapters 1-20, he describes clearly the principals in his discourse: the state authorities on one side, and the Christians on the other. He expounds then on the principles upon which their relationship should be based, in order that 'both rulers and subjects fare well.' He shows that the precepts of Christ are bare of impiety and all unjust ambition. Christians do not strive for earthly power, but for a heavenly kingdom. They obey the state authorities in all civil matters and lead holy and virtuous lives. He brands the charges of atheism, anthro-

3 *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i B. 1913) 1^2.
4 'Die formale Seite der Apologien Justin,' *Theol. Quartalschrift* (Tübingen 1899) 188ff.
5 'Die Apologie Justins des Philosophen und Märtyrers in literarhistorischer Beziehung zum erstenmal undersucht,' *Röm. Quartalschrift* 6, Suppl. Heft. (Rom. 1897) 2.
6 *Die altchristliche Literatur und ihre Erforschung* (Freiburg 1884-1900).
7 Cf. J. M. Pfättisch, *loc cit.*, who refers to the different opinions.
8 Cf. F. Cayré, *loc. cit.* 114f.

pophagy, and incest, held against the Christians, as untrue and baseless. Their belief in the immortality of the soul is, even according to the pagans, neither incredible nor against reason.

In Chapters 21-60, the superiority of Christianity over paganism is demonstrated. He shows that many prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled by Christ and explains the difference between the wonders of Jesus Christ and the tricks of the heathen magicians. The Gentiles, especially the pagan philosophers, including Plato himself, borrowed from the Bible.

In Chapters 61-68, Christian practices are explained: particularly the ceremony of initiation into the Christian fold (baptism),[9] the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, the Sunday assembly of the Christians, their fastings, prayers, and care for less fortunate brethren.

At the end, Justin attached a copy of Hadrian's Rescript [69] written in favor of the Christians. Other scribes, at a later date, added[10] the Letter of Antoninus Pius to the Assembly of Asia [70] and the Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate [71].

Apparently this *Apology* was written at Rome. Basing their opinions on internal evidence, historical events and tradition,[11] historians have set for its composition various dates,[12] from 138 to 156 A.D. Justin himself professes[13] to be writing one-hundred-and-fifty years after the birth of Christ. Eusebius

9 Cf. p. 100 n.5.

10 These two Letters are also contained in the first original edition (1551) and the first Latin translation (1554). Cf. above, notes 44 and 45.

11 Cf. the detailed analysis in W. Smith and H. Wace *loc. cit.* 3, 563.

12 Cf. W. Moeller, *History of the Christian Church* (London 1892) 174. K. Hubík, *Die Apologien des St. Justinus, des Philosophers und Märtyrers* (Wien 1912) 121ff. and 298f.

13 1 *Apol.* 46.

in his *Chronicon* assigns it to the year 141, the fourth year of the reign of Antoninus (137-161 A.D.). Tillemont, and later the Benedictine editors in the preface of their edition of Justin's works, place the date at about 150 A.D., and it seems that 'without very positive evidence against it, the year 148—i.e., Justin's 150 A.D.—should be taken as the approximate date.'[14]

This *Apology* has been preserved in two manuscripts,[15] in which, however, it is preceded by the *Second Apology.* The same sequence is found in the original Greek edition[16] and in the first Latin translation.[17] Eusebius[18] also refers, sometimes, to what we call the first as the second. Some critics reckon that the *Second Apology* is a preface to the first, others that it is just an appendix to the first.[19] However, since, in the *Second Apology,* Justin alludes[20] to the *First Apology,* there is great merit in the opinion that Eusebius erroneously confused the two apologies and that those we have now are two distinct works.[21] G. Krüger writes: 'There are no sufficient grounds for the assumption that the two apologies were originally one, and consequently that the one which Eusebius calls the second has been lost (Harnack). Similarly, the second is not to be regarded as a mere supplement to the first (Zahn).'[22]

14 Cf. W. Smith and H. Wace, *loc. cit.*
15 The *Codex Regius,* of the year 1364, at the National Library of Paris, and the *Codex Claromontanus* of the year 1541, at Cheltenham, England.
16 Printed by R. Stephanus (Paris 1551) pp. 135-163; *the Second Apology* is on pp. 129-134.
17 With a commentary by Joach. Perionius O.S.B., printed by Jac. Dupuys (Paris 1554). pp. 13-44. The *Second Apology* is on pp. 5-12.
18 *Hist. eccl.* 4.16.
19 Cf. Smith and Wace, *loc. cit.,* and M. Dods, *The Writings of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras,* 5 (Edinburgh 1867).
20 2 *Apol. 4,6,8.*
21 J.M. Pfättisch, *loc cit.,* and also G. Rauschen, *loc. cit.*
22 *History of Early Christian Literature* (New York 1897), p. 108.

In addition to those listed in the Select Bibliography, the following editions—without great variations in the text—are, among others, extant: by G. Krüger with an introduction (4th ed. Jena 1914), A.W.F. Blunt with a new text-analysis (Cambridge 1911) and J.M. Pfättisch with a commentary in German (Münster 1912f.). This translation is based on that of Prud. Maran; those of J.C.Th.v. Otto and G. Rauschen were consulted.

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THE FIRST APOLOGY

Chapter 1

TO THE EMPEROR Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Caesar; to his son Verissimus[1] the philosopher; to Lucius the philosopher, by birth son of Caesar and by adoption son of Pius,[2] an admirer of learning; to the sacred Senate and to the whole Roman people; in behalf of those men of every race[3] who are unjustly hated and mistreated: I, one of them, Justin, the son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, of the city of Flavia Neapolis[4] in Syria-Palestine,[5] do present this address and petition.

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1 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whose name, before his adoption by Antoninus Pius, was Marcus Annius Verus. Because of the connotation of this last name ('true'), which fitted his lifelong quest for philosophical truth, Hadrian used to call him emphatically Verissimus.

2 Lucius Ceionius Commodus, who afterwards will share the imperial honors with Marcus Aurelius. His father, Lucius Aelius Caesar, who had been adopted by the Emperor Hadrian, died before Hadrian. Afterwards, when Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius, he obliged him in turn to adopt Marcus Annius Verus (Marcus Aurelius) and Lucius Ceionius. The title 'philosopher' was given to both adopted sons of Antoninus.

3 A proof of the rapid and vast propagation of Christianity at this early date.

4 The city built by the Romans on the ancient ruins of Sichem (modern Nablûs). Named in honor of the Emperor Flavius Vespasian, it was colonized by the Romans.

5 'Palaestina' is originally an adjective added to Syria, meaning the Philistine or southern part of Syria. After the suppression of the rebellion under Hadrian, Judaea was called as a Roman province Syria Palaestina.

Chapter 2

Common sense dictates that they who are truly pious men and philosophers[1] should honor and cherish only what is true, and refuse to follow the beliefs of their forefathers, if these beliefs be worthless. For, sound reason not only demands that we do not heed those who did or taught anything wrong, but it requires that the lover of truth must choose, in every way possible, to do and say what is right, even when threatened with death, rather than save his own life. You hear yourselves everywhere called pious men and philosophers, guardians of justice and lovers of learning: whether you really deserve this reputation will now become evident. Indeed, we have come not to flatter you with our writings or to curry your favor with this discourse, but to ask that, after an accurate and thorough examination, you hand down a decision that will not be influenced by prejudice or by the desire to please superstitious men; a decision that will not be the result of an irrational impulse or of an evil rumor long persistent, lest it become a judgment against yourselves. As far as we [Christians] are concerned, we believe that no evil can befall us unless we be convicted as criminals or be proved to be sinful persons. You, indeed, may be able to kill us, but you cannot harm us.

Chapter 3

Lest anyone consider this an absurd and rash statement, we demand that the accusations against them [the Christians] be probed, and, if these be shown to be true, they be punished,

1 An allusion to the surnames of the addressees.

as any guilty persons should be.[1] If, however, no one has any way of proving these accusations, sane reason does not allow that you, because of a mischievous rumor, do an injustice to innocent men; [in this case] you rather do an injustice to yourselves when you choose to impose punishment[2] not by fair judgment but by passion. Every reasonable person will agree that the only proper and just proposition is this: let the subjects render a blameless account of their life and doctrine; likewise, let the rulers pass judgment, not through force and tyranny, but in accordance with piety and philosophy. In this way both rulers and subjects would fare well. In fact, one of the ancients has somewhere stated: 'Unless the rulers and their subjects become philosophers, it is impossible for states to become happy.'[3] It is our duty, therefore, to give everyone a chance of investigating our life and doctrines, lest we should pay the penalty for what they commit in their blindness, they who persist in being ignorant of our ways.[4] As for you, sound reason makes it your duty to prove yourselves good judges after you hear [our defense]. Hereafter, you will be without excuse before God, if you know the truth, yet do not act in accordance with justice.

---

1 The words *mállon dè kolázein* of the Paris manuscript have caused considerable discussion as to the proper meaning and translation of this passage. Thirlby, Otto, Krüger and others think that the words were originally a marginal note that was later incorporated into the text, suggesting an active infinitive (*kolázein*) for the passive *kolázesthai*: 'better read *kolázein*'. Again, Maran and others emended the text to read: *állon de kolázein*, 'let them be punished as it is proper to punish another.' I have followed the conjectural reading, *álontas kolázein*, adopted by Otto's 3rd ed. and Rauschen.

2 *prágmata epágein*, 'to cause harm, vexation.' Cf. Rauschen.

3 A loose but fitting quotation of Plato, *Republic* 5.18, for it was a favorite one of the emperors to whom the apology was addressed.

4 I.e., we ourselves would be responsible for the sin of our accusers if we kept them in darkness.

Chapter 4

Nothing good or evil is included in the mere use of a name, apart from the actions which are associated with that name. We, if you judge from the name we are accused of, are most excellent persons.[1] Now, we do not think it right to ask for acquittal because of a name, if we be convicted as criminals. Likewise, if we be found to have done no wrong, either as regards the use of our name or our conduct as citizens, you must be careful lest, by unjustly punishing the unconvicted, you justly incur punishment yourselves. Indeed, neither praise nor punishment can rightly arise from a name, unless some good or bad action can be proved. For, you do not punish those of your own people who are accused, before they are proved guilty, yet with us you accept the name alone as proof against us.[2] But so far as a name is concerned, you ought rather to punish our accusers. We are accused of being Christians, yet to hate what is good[3] is not just. Then, too, if any of the accused should deny verbally to be what the name implies, you acquit him, as though having no proof that he did wrong. But, if anyone confesses to be [a Christian], because of that confession you punish him. You ought rather to investigate the life of both the one who makes the admission and of the one who denies, so that the character of each might become known from his actions. Some, who learned from Christ the Master not to deny Him, when they are questioned, give encouragement to others

1 Justin here indulges in paronomasia to play upon the words *Christós, Christianoí* (Christ, Christians) and *chrestós, chrestótatoi* (excellent, most excellent). Cf. Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum* 1.1; Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 4.7.

2 To be a Christian was then illicit. From the time of Nero the cry was: *Christianos esse non licet.* Just to be known as a Christian was then sufficient cause for persecution.

3 Cf. note 1.

thereby;[4] they who lead evil lives equally encourage all those who rashly accuse all Christians of impiety and injustice. This, too, is not just. Some persons, too, assume the name and attire[5] of philosophers and do nothing worthy of their profession. You know that those of the ancients who held and taught opposing opinions are all called by the one name of philosophers; some of them taught that there are no gods. Even your poets denounce the licentiousness of Jupiter with his children. But those who follow these teachings are not checked by you; on the contrary, you bestow rewards and honors on them for insulting your gods with sweet-sounding words.

Chapter 5

What, then, can all this mean? Although, in our case, we promise to do no evil, and to hold no such atheistic opinions, you do not investigate the charges made against us. Instead, led by unreasonable passion and at the instigation of wicked demons,[1] you punish us inconsiderately without trial. But the truth shall be told, for the wicked demons from ancient times appeared and defiled women, corrupted boys, and presented such terrifying sights to men that those who were not guided by reason in judging these [diabolical] acts were

4 Pfättisch and Rauschen understand the verb *parakeleúontai* ('they exhort, give encouragement') in the passive voice: 'they are led to . . .' and supply 'denial'—thus changing the entire meaning ('although they learned . . . not to deny him, they are led, when questioned, to denial').

5 The philosophers of Justin's time wore a distinctive garb. Even after his conversion to Christianity, Justin continued to wear his philosopher's robe.

1 Demoniacal influence in general and demoniacal instigation of persecutions in particular were favorite themes of Justin. In fact, demons are mentioned in over a dozen chapters in this apology. The same theme returns later in Tertullian, *Apol.* 27 and Lactantius, *Instit. div.* 5.21. Justin uses the word *daimon* (which meant a god to the pagans) to signify an evil spirit who was the offspring of a bad angel and a human (Cf. 2 *Apol.* 5).

panic-stricken. Seized with fear and unaware that these were evil demons, they called them gods and greeted each by the name which each demon had bestowed upon himself. But, when Socrates attempted to make these things known and to draw men away from the demons by true reason and judgment, then these very demons brought it about, through men delighting in evil, that he be put to death as an atheist and impious person, because, they claimed, he introduced new divinities.[2] And now they endeavor to do the very same thing to us. And not only among the Greeks were these things through Socrates condemned by reason [*logos*],[3] but also among the non-Hellenic peoples by the Logos Himself, who assumed a human form and became man, and was called Jesus Christ. Through our belief in Him we not only deny that they who did these things are good deities,[4] but claim that they are evil and ungodly demons, whose actions should not be compared with those of virtue-seeking men.

Chapter 6

Thus are we even called atheists.[1] We do proclaim our-

2 Cf. Plato, *Apology* 24B.

3 Justin distinguishes between the seminal word (*lógos spermatikós*) and the Perfect Word (*ho pâs lógos*) which is the Word of God. The seminal word (human reason) is implanted as a seed in every man and by a wise use of it a man, e.g., Socrates, could acquire a partial knowledge of the Perfect Logos. Only Christians, by Revelation, can attain a full knowledge of the Divine Logos. The greater one's knowledge of the Logos, the more severe was the demons' persecution.

4 In this sentence Justin uses the same word (*daimonas*) for deities and demons.

1 A common charge against the early Christians, based on the fact that Christians refused to offer sacrifice or acts of reverence to the pagan idols and imperial statues. They also stayed away from the temples and pagan religious festivities. They were called atheists, therefore, because they showed no respect for the State gods and for the State religion.

selves atheists as regards those whom you call gods, but not with respect to the Most True God, who is alien to all evil and is the Father of justice, temperance, and the other virtues. We revere and worship Him and the Son who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and also the legion of good angels[2] who attend Him and reflect His virtues, and the Prophetic Spirit, and we pay homage to them in reason and truth, and pass His doctrine on intact to everyone who wishes to learn it.

Chapter 7

Someone will object that some Christians have already been arrested and convicted as criminals. Indeed, you often condemn many persons after an individual investigation into the lives of the accused, but you do not condemn them because of other persons previously convicted.[1] On the whole, we admit one thing: among the Greeks those who announce

2 Literally: 'and the other good angels.' Two difficulties arise from this passage. (1) Justin seems to imply that Christ, too, is one of the angels; but 'other' (*állos*) is in Greek often used pleonastically for the second of two separate subjects, meaning no more than 'in addition.' Cf. also French *nous autres citoyens,* 'we citizens.' (2) The passage would commit Justin to the worship of angels. That this was not his teaching is clear from Chapters 13, 16, and 61. Various attempts at another translation of the passage have been made by making the words, 'the legion of other good angels,' in one or the other way contingent upon the verb 'taught.' The translation would then be, 'taught these things to us and to the legion of other good angels,' or, still differently: 'taught us about these things, and about the legion of other good angels.' A third explanatory translation would refer the word 'revere' to the angels and the word 'worship' to the Holy Trinity.

1 The *Codex Paris.* reads *prolechthéntas,* 'those mentioned before,' which has been referred by some to the sincere Christians (Otto), by others, to the demons of Ch. 5 (Trollope). I have followed Maran, Rauschen, and others, who preferred the word *proelechthéntas,* 'those previously convicted.'

their own particular theories are all addressed by the one name of 'philosophers,' even though they hold contrary opinions; so, among the non-Hellenic peoples, those who are and those who seem to be wise all have the one common name—they are all named Christians. Hence, we ask that the actions of all those denounced to you be judged, so that whoever is convicted may be punished as an offender, not as a Christian. If it is apparent that a man is innocent, let him be dismissed as a Christian who has committed no crime. We will not ask you to punish the accusers,[2] for they are sufficiently punished by their present iniquity and ignorance of fine and noble things.

Chapter 8

You can be sure that we have spoken these things for your benefit, since we, when on trial, can always deny [that we are Christians]. But we do not desire to live by lying. We are desirous of an eternal and good life; we strive for the abode of God, the Father and Creator of all; we make haste to profess our faith; we believe with firm conviction that they can attain these things who have shown God by their works that they follow Him and love to make their home with Him where there is no sin to cause disorder. In brief, this is what we look for and what we have learned from Christ and in turn teach to others. Plato also stated[1] that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked who came before them. We declare that the very same thing will take place, but that it will be Christ who will assign the punishment to sinners.

2 Under the Roman criminal law in general, and by the rescript of Hadrian (which Justin added at the end of this apology), Christians could have asked for the punishment of their false accusers.

1 Plato, *Gorg.* 523E.

And in their very bodies, reunited to their souls, they will endure the pangs of torment eternally, and not only for a period of one thousand years as Plato said.[2] If anyone shall say that this is incredible or impossible, this 'error' still is ours and of no concern to anybody else, as long as we are not convicted of having committed any wicked deed.

Chapter 9

We do not worship with many sacrifices and floral offerings the things men have made, set in temples, and called gods. We know that they are inanimate and lifeless and have not the form of God (for we do not think that God has that form which some say they reproduce in order to give honor to Him)—but have the names and shapes of those evil demons who have appeared [to men]. Why should we tell you, who already know, into what different shapes the workmen fashion their material, by carving, cutting, molding, and hammering? From vessels destined for vile purposes, by merely changing their shape and by skillfully giving them a new form, they often make what they call gods.[1] Thus, His name is applied to corruptible things that need constant care. This, we think, is not only stupid but also disrespectful to God, who is of ineffable glory and form. You are well aware of the fact that their skilled artisans are licentious men and, not to enter into details, are experienced in every known vice; they even defile the girls who work with them. What stupidity, that lustful men should carve and reshape gods for your veneration, and that such men should be appointed the guards of the temples wherein the gods are set up, not realizing that it is

2 Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 249A; *Republic* 10, 615A.

1 A favorite theme of the early Christian Apologists. Cf. also Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 26.

forbidden to declare or even think that men are the keepers of the gods.

Chapter 10

But we have learned from tradition that God has no need of the material gifts of men, since we see that He is the Giver of all things.[1] We have been taught, are convinced, and do believe that He approves of only those who imitate His inherent virtues, namely, temperance, justice, love of man, and any other virtue proper to God who is called by no given name. We have also been instructed that God, in the beginning, created in His goodness everything out of shapeless matter[2] for the sake of men. And if men by their actions prove themselves worthy of His plan, they shall, we are told, be found worthy to make their abode with Him and to reign with Him, free from all corruption and pain. Just as in the beginning He created us when we were not, so also, we believe, He will consider all those who choose to please Him, because of their choice, to be worthy of eternal life in His presence. Our creation was not in our own power. But this —to engage in those things that please Him and which we choose by means of the intellectual faculties He has bestowed on us—this makes our conviction and leads us to faith. Indeed, we think it is for the good of all men that they are not prevented from learning these things, but are even

1 Cf. Acts 17.25.

2 These words of Justin should be interpreted in the light of a similar but clearer statement in 2 *Apol.* 5. There he states that the Son of God existed before all things and that God the Father, through the Son, created and arranged in order all things. The two actions, *viz., creatio ex nihilo* and the adornment of the created matter, are definitely stated. Therefore, when Justin states here that God created all things out of 'shapeless matter' he does not deny *creatio ex nihilo,* as Plato did, but he merely had in mind the adornment of the created matter.

urged to consider them. For, what human laws were unable to effect, the Divine Word would have accomplished, had not the evil demons enlisted the aid of the various utterly evil inclinations, which are in every man by nature, and scattered many false and ungodly accusations—none of which, however, applies to us.

Chapter 11

When you hear that we look forward to a kingdom, you rashly assume that we speak of a human kingdom,[1] whereas we mean a kingdom which is with God. This becomes evident when, being questioned, we openly profess to be Christians, although we know well that for such a profession of faith the punishment is death. If we expected a human kingdom, we would deny that we are Christians, that we might not be put to death, and we would try to hide from you, that we might attain what we expect. But, because we do not place our hope in the present, we do not mind when men murder us, since death is inevitable anyhow.

Chapter 12

We, more than all other men, are truly your helpers and allies in fostering peace, since we believe that it is impossible for the wicked or the avaricious, or the treacherous, and the virtuous alike to hide from the sight of God, and that each man receives eternal punishment or salvation according to the merits of his actions. If everyone realized this, no one would prefer to be in sin even for a little while, knowing that he would incur the pains of eternal fire, but he would

1 One of the accusations against the Christians was that of owing allegiance to another kingdom. This, it was claimed, made the Christians guilty of treason and prevented them from being good citizens.

by all means control himself and adorn himself with virtue, in order to gain the favor of God and escape His punishments. It is not[1] because of the laws and penalties you fix that men try to hide from you when they break the law, but they disobey the law knowing that it is possible to elude you, since you are mere men. If, however, they learned and were convinced that nothing, whether in their actions or in their thoughts, can be hidden from the knowledge of God, they would live a completely orderly life, if only because of the threatened punishments, as you yourselves will admit. But you seem to dread lest all men become just and you no longer have any left to punish. Such might be the worry of public executioners, but it should not be the concern of righteous rulers. As we said before, we believe that these things have been instigated by the evil demons who claim sacrifices and veneration even from those who do not live according to reason. But we do not presume that you who strive for piety and philosophy will act against reason. Still, if you, too, like thoughtless men, respect custom rather than truth, then do what is in your power. Rulers who prefer popular opinion to truth have as much power as robbers in the desert. That you will not succeed[2] is testified to by the Word, and we know no ruler more kingly or just than He except God [the Father] who begot Him.[3] For, just as all men try to avoid inheriting the poverty, misery, and dishonor of their fathers, so will the

1 'Not' (*ou*); others read the article *hoi* (cf. Rauschen, *ad loc.*): 'For those who try, because of the laws and penalties you fix, to hide from you when they break the laws, disobey the law knowing' etc.

2 Namely, the rulers will not succeed in their persecution of the Christians, because the latter have the support of Christ, and because they are encouraged by the knowledge that their trial and sufferings are but the fulfilments of His prophecies.

3 This seems to imply the error of subordinationism which teaches that the Father is greater than the Son; cf. also Ch. 2 *Apol.* 13; *Dial.* 56 (Cf. Rauschen, *ad loc.*, and Altaner, *Patrologia*).

man of reason refuse to choose whatever the Word forbids him to choose. That all these things should happen was foretold, I say, by our Teacher, Jesus Christ, who is the Son and Apostle[4] of God, the Father and Ruler of all, and from whom we have received our name of Christians. Hence, we are convinced of the truth of all the things He taught us, because whatever He foretold would happen is actually happening; this, indeed, is the practice of God, to speak of something before it takes place and then to show it taking place just as He predicted.

We might stop here and add nothing more, since we plead for what is just and true. But, since we know how difficult it is to change over a mind trained in ignorance, we have decided to add a few observations to convince all lovers of truth, for we know that it is not impossible to dispel ignorance by setting truth against it.

Chapter 13

What sensible person will not admit that we are not atheists, since we worship the Creator of this world and assert, as we have been taught, that He has no need of bloody sacrifices, libations, and incense. But we praise Him to the best of our power by prayer and thanksgiving for all our nourishment.[1] We have been instructed that the only worship worthy of Him is not to consume by fire those things that He created for our sustenance, but to employ them for the good of ourselves and the needy, and, with thankful voices, to offer Him

4 Cf. the same expression in St. Paul, Heb. 3.1.

1 Literally: 'for all things we consume.' Others translate: 'in all things we offer,' i. e. in our sacrifices. The verb *prosphéresthai* may mean both 'to consume' and 'to offer.'

solemn prayers and hymns[2] for our own creation, for the preservation of our health, for the variety of things, and for the changes of the seasons, and to beseech Him in prayer that we may rise to life everlasting because of our faith in Him. Our Teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who was born for this end, and who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea, in the reign of Tiberius Caesar. We shall prove that we worship Him with reason, since we have learned that He is the Son of the living God Himself, and believe Him to be in the second place, and the Prophetic Spirit in the third.[3] For this they accuse us of madness, saying that we attribute to a crucified man a place second to the unchanging and eternal God, the Creator of all things, but they are ignorant of the mystery which lies herein. To this mystery we entreat you to give your attention, while we explain it to you.

Chapter 14

Indeed, we warn you to be careful lest the demons, previously accused by us, should mislead you and turn you from reading and understanding thoroughly what we have said. They strive to make you their slaves and servants. They ensnare, now by apparitions in dreams, now by tricks of magic, all those who do not labor with all their strength for their

2 *Pompàs kaì húmnous.* Some, like Grabe, considered *pompàs* to be the solemn prayers that were recited aloud, especially in the celebration of the Sacraments. Others, like Maran (in Migne), interpret the word to mean the rites and ceremonies practiced in the celebration of the Sacraments. I have followed the first interpretation in my translation of 'solemn prayers.' Justin prefaces *pompà* by *dià lógou* to show that the Christian *pompaí* were different from the pagan *pompaí* of the temples, arenas, theatres, etc. The *húmnous* would indicate not only the psalms of David, but also the strictly Christian hymns.

3 On Justin's subordinationism, see above, Ch. 12, n. 3.

own salvation—even as we, also, after our conversion by the Word have separated ourselves from those demons and have attached ourselves to the only unbegotten[1] God, through His Son. We who once[2] reveled in impurities now cling to purity; we who devoted ourselves to the arts of magic now consecrate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who loved above all else the ways of acquiring riches and possessions now hand over to a community fund what we possess, and share it with every needy person; we who hated and killed one another and would not share our hearth with those of another tribe because of their [different] customs, now, after the coming of Christ, live together with them, and pray for our enemies, and try to convince those who hate us unjustly, so that they who live according to the good commands of Christ may have a firm hope of receiving the same reward as ourselves from God who governs all. But, lest we seem to quibble, we think it fitting to recall a few of the teachings of Christ, before giving our proofs;[3] it is up to you, as mighty emperors, to consider whether we have been taught and do teach the truth. His sayings were brief and concise, for He was not a sophist, but His word was the power of God.

Chapter 15

Thus did He speak concerning chastity: 'Whoever looks with lust at a woman has already committed adultery with

1 By this word Justin distinguishes God the Father both from the begotten Son, the Logos, and from the many begotten gods of pagan polytheism.

2 This sudden change in morality after conversion to Christianity was often cited by the early Apologists as a proof of the divine origin of the Christian Church. In fact, this theme has been called 'The triumphal song of the Apologists.'

3 *Viz.*, the proofs, promised in Ch. 13, 'that we worship Him with reason.' These proofs begin in Ch. 30, below.

her in his heart before God.'[1] And, 'If thy right eye is an occasion of sin to thee, pluck it out for it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of Heaven with one eye, than, having two eyes, to be cast into everlasting fire.'[2] And, 'Whosoever marries her who has been divorced from another husband, commits adultery.'[3] And, 'There are eunuchs who were born so; and there are eunuchs who were made so by men; and there are eunuchs who have made themselves so for the kingdom of Heaven's sake; not all however can receive this saying.'[4] As all who, according to the human law, contract a second marriage[5] are sinners in the eyes of our Master, so are those who look upon a woman with lustful eyes. Not only he who actually does commit adultery, but also he who wishes to do so, is repudiated by God, since not only our actions, but even our inner thoughts, are manifest to Him. Many men and women who were disciples of Christ from childhood remain pure at sixty or seventy years of age; I am proud to say that I can cite examples from every nation. Why should we mention here the countless throng of those who turned from intemperance to learn our teaching? Christ came, indeed, to call to repentance not the just or the pure, but the impious, the incontinent, and the unjust, for He said: 'I came not to call the just, but the sinners to repentance.'[6]

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1 Matt. 5.28.
2 Matt. 5.29.
3 Matt. 5.32
4 Matt. 19.12.
5 Maran claims that by this word, *digamias,* Justin wanted to forbid bigamy, and not two successive marriages (one after the death of a first partner). Justin could also mean a second marriage after the divorce (but not the death) of the former partner, for he had just quoted Matt. 5.32: 'Whosoever marries her who has been divorced from another husband, commits adultery.' If this interpretation be accepted, Justin did not follow the rigid tendency of some early Christians against second marriages after the death of the consort.
6 Matt. 9.13.

The Heavenly Father wishes the repentance of a sinner, rather than his punishment. Concerning the love we should have for all, Christ thus taught: 'If you love those who love you, what new thing do you do? For even the fornicators do this.[7] But I say unto you, pray for your enemies, love them that hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them who insult you.'[8] He taught to share our goods with the needy and to do nothing for our own personal glory, when He said: 'Give to everyone who asks of you, and do not turn your back on him who would borrow;[9] for if you lend to them who you hope will repay you, what new thing do you do? Even the publicans do this.[10] Do not lay up for yourselves treasures on earth where rust and moth consume, and where thieves break in; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth consumes.[11] For what does it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?[12] Store up treasures, therefore, in heaven, where neither rust nor moth consumes.'[13] And, 'Be kind and merciful as your Heavenly Father also is kind and merciful,[14] who makes His sun to rise on sinners, and on the just and the wicked.[15] Be not anxious about what you shall eat, or how you shall dress; for are you not better than the birds and the beasts? And yet God feeds them. Therefore be not anxious about what you shall eat, or how you shall dress, for your Heavenly Father knows that you have need of these things. But seek the king-

7 Matt. 5.46.
8 Luke 6.27, 28.
9 Matt. 5.42.
10 Luke 6.34.
11 Matt. 6.19,20.
12 Luke 9.25.
13 Matt. 6.20.
14 Luke 6.36.
15 Matt. 5.45.

dom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you.[16] For where the treasure is, there also is the mind of man.'[17] And, 'Do not these things to be gazed at by men; otherwise you shall have no reward from your Father who is in Heaven.'[18]

Chapter 16

With the following words He taught us that we should be patient, and be willing to submit to everyone, and never give way to anger: 'To him who strikes you on the one cheek, offer the other also; and hinder not him who takes away your cloak or coat.[1] Whoever is given to anger is subject to the fire of hell.[2] And everyone who forces you to go with him a mile, go with him two.[3] Let your good deeds shine before men, that they, seeing them, may glorify your Heavenly Father.'[4] We should not be contentious, nor does He want us to imitate the wicked, but He rather urges us to draw all men from dishonor and desire of evil by our own patience and mildness. We can show that this has happened in the case of many of those who were of your side and turned from a life of violence and tyranny, because they were conquered either by the constancy of their neighbors' lives, or by the strange patience they noticed in their injured associates, or by experiencing their honesty in business matters. With these words He commanded us never to swear, but always to tell the truth: 'Do not swear at all, but let your yes be yes, and your no, no; for whatever is beyond these comes from

16 Matt. 6.25,26,33.
17 Matt. 6.21.
18 Matt. 6.1.

1 Matt. 5.39,40.
2 Matt. 5.22.
3 Matt. 5.41.
4 Matt. 5.16.

the evil one.'[5] He convinced us that only God is to be worshipped, when He said: 'The greatest commandment is this: "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, the Lord God who made thee," '[6] and when a certain man came to Him and said: 'Good Master,' He replied: 'There is none good but God alone who made all things.'[7] May they who are not found living according to His teachings know that they are not Christians, even though they profess with their tongues the teaching of Christ, for He said that not those who only profess His doctrines, but those who put them into practice, shall be saved.[8] Indeed, He said: 'Not everyone who says to Me, "Lord, Lord," shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he who does the will of My Father who is in Heaven. For whosoever hears Me and does what I say, hears Him who sent Me. And many will say to Me, "Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk, and done wonders in your name?" And then will I say to them: "Depart from Me, you workers of evil."[9] Then there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when the just shall shine as the sun, and the wicked are sent into everlasting fire.[10] For many shall come in My name, dressed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but who inwardly are ravenous wolves. By their works you shall know them. Every tree that does not bring forth good fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire.'[11] And we ask that you also punish all those who call themselves Christians, but are not living according to His teachings.

5 Matt. 5.34,37.
6 Mark 12.30.
7 Matt. 19.16,17.
8 Faith without works not sufficient.
9 Matt. 7.21-23.
10 Matt. 13.42,43.
11 Matt. 7.15,16,19.

Chapter 17

As we have been instructed by Him, we, before all others, try everywhere to pay your appointed officials the ordinary and special taxes. For in His time some people came to Him and asked if it were necessary to pay tribute to Caesar, and He replied: 'Tell Me, whose likeness does this coin bear?' They said: 'Caesar's.' And He again replied: 'Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God, the things that are God's.'[1] Wherefore, only God do we worship, but in other things we joyfully obey you, acknowledging you as the kings and rulers of men, and praying that you may be found to have, besides royal power, sound judgment. If you do not heed us, though we beseech you and clearly explain our position, it will by no means harm us, for we believe (rather, we are absolutely sure) that every man will pay the penalty of his misdeeds in the everlasting fire, and that every one will give an account in proportion to the powers he received from God, as Christ made known to us when He said: 'To whom God has given more, of him more shall be required.'[2]

Chapter 18

Look back on the end of each of the past emperors, and consider how they died the death common to all men, which, if it led to a state of insensibility, would be a godsend[1] for all sinners. But, since a state of sensibility does await all those who were alive and since eternal punishment awaits the

1 Matt. 22.20 21.
2 Luke 12.48.

1 *Hérmaion*, a find on the wayside; reputed by the ancients to be a gift from the god Hermes.

wicked, be convinced and believe that these statements are true. Indeed, let the oracles of the dead and the sorcery you perform through innocent children,[2] and the invoking of the souls of the dead,[3] let those whom the magicians call dream-sending and familiar spirits,[4] and let whatever else is performed by those skilled in such arts convince you that even after death souls remain in a state of sensibility. Be convinced, likewise, by those possessed and tormented by the souls of the deceased, whom everyone calls demoniacs and madmen,[5] and by what you call the oracles of Amphilochus, Dodona, Apollo, and of others like them, and by the teaching of the writers Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates, and by the ditch of Homer,[6] and by the descent of Ulysses to see the dead, and by those who told similar stories. Treat us, therefore, in a similar manner as you treat them, for we believe in God not less, but more than they do, since we expect that our own bodies, even though they should be

2 Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 7.10) describes the pagan method of divination performed by 'cutting the throats of wretched boys and sacrificing children of hapless parents and opening up the entrails of new-born babes.' But Tertullian (*Apol.* 23) mentions children who were used in some way to utter oracles. Justin probably refers to this second use of children in pagan divination.

3 Spiritistic seances were not unknown to the ancients. In his *Dialogue* (Ch. 105) Justin gives as a proof of the immortality of the soul the invocation of Samuel by the witch of Endor.

4 *Oneiropompoi and páredroi* were the magicians' helping spirits: the first (*oneiropompoi*) were sent to inspire the subjects with dreams that could tell them something of the future; and the second (*páredroi*) were sent to men to sit by their side and shield them from illness or misfortune.

5 The identification of demoniacs and madmen and the possession of both by the spirits of departed men are not stated as Justin's own teaching, but as pagan doctrine. For here Justin is collecting examples from pagan lore to prove the immortality of the soul.

6 In the *Odyssey* 11.24,25, Ulysses is portrayed digging a pit with his sword and filling it with blood to attract to that place the souls of the dead.

dead and buried in the earth, will be revived; for we claim that nothing is impossible with God.

Chapter 19

And what would seem more incredible to a thinking person that if we were not in a body and someone were to affirm that from a little drop of the human seed it were possible to shape bones, muscles and flesh into the human form we now see? Now let us make this supposition: If you yourselves had not the form you now have, and were not born of parents like yours, and someone were to show you the human seed and the painted picture of a man, and were to affirm that from such a seed such a being could be produced, would you believe him before you saw the actual production? No one would dare to deny [that you would not]. In like manner, because you have never witnessed a dead person rise again to life, you refuse to believe. But as in the beginning you would not have believed it possible that from a little sperm such persons could be produced, and yet you actually see that they are, so now realize that it is not impossible that human bodies, after they are dead and disseminated in the earth like seeds, should at the appointed time, at God's command, arise and assume immortality. We cannot imagine what power worthy of God is attributed to Him by those who say that everything returns to that from which it was produced, and that not even God can do anything more than this. But this we clearly know, that they would not have believed it possible that from such matter they could ever have been such as they now perceive themselves and the whole world to be. We have learned that it is better to believe what is impossible to our own nature and to men than, like other men, to be unbelievers, for we know

that our Teacher, Jesus Christ, has said: 'What is impossible with men, is possible with God.'[1] And again: 'Fear not them who kill you, and after that can do you no harm; but fear him who after death is able to cast both soul and body into hell.'[2] Hell, in truth, is the place of punishment for those who lived wickedly and refused to believe what God taught through Christ will take place.

Chapter 20

Indeed, Sibyl[1] and Hystaspes[2] foretold that all corruptible things are to be destroyed by fire. And the so-called Stoic philosophers teach that even God is to be transformed into fire, and they claim that after this evolution the world is to be made over again. We, on the contrary, believe that God, the Maker of all things, is superior to changeable things. If, therefore, we agree on some points with your honored poets and philosophers, and on other points offer a more complete and supernatural teaching, and if we alone produce proof of our statements, why are we unjustly hated beyond all others? When we say that God created and arranged all things in this world, we seem to repeat the teaching of Plato;[3] when we announce a final conflagration [of the world], we utter the doctrine of the Stoics; and when we assert that the souls of the wicked, living after death, will be sensibly

1 Matt. 19.26.
2 Matt. 10.28.

1 There were many Sibyls in heathen legendary history. The most famous Greek Sibyl was located at Marpessus (near Troy), while the Cumaean Sibyl was most respected by the Romans, who kept her oracles in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. In times of great danger the Senate ordered the Sibylline oracles to be consulted.
2 He was the Greek counterpart of the Persian Vishtaspa, a semi-legendary king praised by Zoroaster and noted for prophetic sayings.
3 In *Timaeus, passim.*

punished, and that the souls of the good, freed from punishment, will live happily, we believe the same things as your poets and philosophers. In claiming that we should not worship the work of men's hands, we agree with the comic poet Menander and other writers like him, for they have declared that the creator is greater than his work.

Chapter 21

When, indeed, we assert that the Word, our Teacher Jesus Christ, who is the first-begotten of God the Father, was not born as the result of sexual relations, and that He was crucified, died, arose from the dead, and ascended into Heaven, we propose nothing new or different[1] from that which you say about the so-called sons of Jupiter. You know exactly the number of sons ascribed to Jupiter by your respected writers: Mercury, who was the interpretative word and teacher of all; Aesculapius, who, though himself a healer of diseases, was struck by a thunderbolt and ascended into heaven; Bacchus, who was torn to pieces; Hercules, who rushed into the flames of the funeral pyre to escape his sufferings; the Dioscuri, the sons of Leda; Perseus, the son of Danäe; and Bellerophon, who, though of human origin, rose to heaven on his horse Pegasus.[2] And what can we say of Ariadne and those like her, who are said to be placed among

1 This manner of argumentation seems strange and distasteful to us today, but Justin and the other apologists of his time were ready to meet the pagans on their own ground and match them story for story, with the intention of proving that the Christian story was not a fable or a myth. This position of those early apologists was aptly expressed by Tertullian (*Apol.* 21): *Recipite interim hanc fabulam, similis est vestris, dum ostendimus quomodo Christus probetur.*

2 Maran, Sylburg, and others read *eph hippou* (as in Ch. 54 of this Apology) instead of *uph hippou.* Justin is not exactly correct here, for it seems that Bellerophon did not actually reach heaven. *See* Pindar, *Isthm.* 7.63 and Horace, *Odes* 4, 11, 25ff.

the stars? And what about the emperors who die among you, whom you think worthy to be deified,[3] and for whom you lead forth a false witness to swear that he saw the burning Caesar rise from the funeral pyre and ascend to heaven?[4] Nor is it necessary to relate to you, who know them already, what kind of actions are imputed to those so-called sons of Jupiter, except to add that they have been recorded for the profit and instruction[5] of young students; for everyone considers it a good thing to imitate the gods. But may such a thought concerning the gods be far from every sound mind, as to believe that Jupiter himself, whom they consider the ruler and creator of all things, was a parricide and the son of a parricide, and that, seized by a lust of evil and shameful pleasures, he descended upon Ganymede and the many women whom he violated, and that his sons were guilty of similar actions. But, as we stated above, the wicked demons have done these things. We, however, have been taught that only they will have eternal bliss who live a holy and virtuous life close to God; we believe that they who live an evil life and do not repent will be punished in everlasting fire.

Chapter 22

Furthermore, the Son of God who is called Jesus, even if

3 The apotheosis, or deification, of Roman rulers was quite common after the time of Julius Caesar. Some of the Roman emperors so honored were: Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla.

4 There are three such examples: of Romulus (Tertullian, *Apol.* 21), Augustus (Suetonius, *Aug.* 100), and Claudius (Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 1).

5 *Diaphorân kaì protropèn,* profit and instruction. Justin evidently meant to use these words in a sarcastic manner. Because they claim that such a mode of expression was not common in the writings of Justin, some have changed the text to *diaphthorân kaì paratropèn,* corruption and ruin. This seems unnecessary.

He were only a man by common generation, is because of His wisdom, worthy to be called the Son of God, for all your writers[1] call God the Father of men and gods. And if we declare that the Word of God was begotten of God not in the ordinary, but in an extraordinary,[2] manner, as we stated above, this may be compared to your claim that Mercury is the announcing word of God. And should any one object that He [Christ] was crucified, this indignity may be compared to that of Jupiter's sons, as you call them, who suffered as indicated above.[3] Their sufferings at death are said to have been, not all similar, but different, so that not even His unusual manner of suffering was inferior to theirs. But, as we have promised and will prove as our discourse progresses (or rather, as we have already proved), He is their superior also in this regard, for one is proved superior by his actions. If we state that He was born of a Virgin, this may be comparable to what you admit of Perseus.[4] When we say that He cured the lame, the paralytics, and those blind[5] from birth, and raised the dead to life, we seem to attribute to Him actions similar to those said to have been performed by Aesculapius.

Chapter 23

To make this clear to you, we shall present the following

1 E.g., Homer. Cf. *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 2.

2 Cf. *Dialogue* 61, 128. Justin is referring here to the begetting of the Word before all time.

3 Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 1.41, mentions Bacchus, Aesculapius, and Hercules.

4 In Greek mythology it is related that King Acrisius was warned by the oracle that he would perish at the hand of his daughter's son. Accordingly, he imprisoned his only daughter, the virgin Danaë, in an underground vault. But Zeus visited her in a shower of gold, and thereafter Perseus was born to Danaë.

5 The text has *ponerous*, the 'evil' or 'infirm,' but some editors prefer the reading *pérous*, 'blind,' which is repeated in this *Apology* (Ch. 60) and also in the *Dialogue* 69.

arguments[1] to prove: [first] that whatever statements we make, because we learned them from Christ and the Prophets who preceded Him, are alone true, and are older than all writers, and that we should be believed, not because we speak the same things as the writers, but because we speak the truth; [second] that Jesus Christ alone is properly the Son of God, since He is His Word, First-begotten, and Power, and that, having become man by His will, He taught us these doctrines for the conversion and restoration of mankind; [third] that, before He assumed human nature and dwelt among men, some,[2] namely, those previously mentioned demons, foretold through the poets as if already accomplished those things which they invented, just as they caused to be imputed to us slanderous and impious actions, of which they can produce neither witness nor proof.

Chapter 24

In the first place [we wish to say] that, although we hold teachings similar to the Greeks, we alone are hated because of the name of Christ, and, though we commit no crime, we are excuted as criminals, while other men in other coun-

1 Justin here promises to prove three things: (1) that the Christian teachings are alone true, and are to be accepted because of their own value, and not because of their similarity to the teachings of the poets and philosophers (Chs. 24-29); (2) that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and He became Man for our sake (Chs. 30-53); (3) that, prior to His Incarnation, the demons learned something of His future mission and then instigated the poets and others to invent myths that would anticipate the Incarnation and thus keep men away from Christ (Ch. 54ff.). In the development of these themes Justin is guilty of many digressions.

2 Literally, 'Some, through the fore-mentioned evil demons, foretold, through the poets, as if already accomplished, those things which they invented.' I have followed Maran's emendation of the text (Migne, *PG* 6.364).

tries worship trees and rivers,[1] mice, cats, crocodiles, and many other irrational animals;[2] nor do all worship the same beings, but in one place they worship one, in another place another, so that all are considered impious by one another, because they do not all venerate the same objects. And this is the sole charge you lodge against us, that we do not worship the same gods as you do, offer to the dead libations, fats, crowns for their statues,[3] and sacrificial victims. For you know well[4] that the very same animals are considered gods by some people, wild beasts by others, and sacrificial victims by still others.

Chapter 25

In the second[1] place [we wish to observe] that we who, from every nation, once worshipped Bacchus, the son of Semele, and Apollo, the son of Latona (who in their lusts for men practiced things too disgraceful even to mention), and Proserpine and Venus (who were thrown into a frenzy for love of Adonis, and whose mysteries you also celebrate), and Aesculapius, or any one of the other so-called gods, now, through Jesus Christ, even under the threat of death, hold these in contempt, while we consecrate ourselves to the unbegotten and impassible God, who, we know, never de-

1 E.g., the Persians.
2 E.g., the Egyptians.
3 *En graphaîs stephánous*: Some would read *en taphaîs* (on the tombs) instead of *en graphaîs* (on the pictures). Others interpret the text as the equivalent of *stephánous gegramménous* (painted crowns), but Maran (*PG* 6.365) proves that *graphè* can signify not only a picture, but also a statue.
4 The Mss. have *hóti gàr ou*, but I have followed Maran (*PG* 6.365) in omitting *ou* or reading *hóti gàr hoûn*.

1 This second argument is based on the purity of the one God worshipped by the Christians even under the threat of death.

scended with sexual desire upon Antiope, or other such women, or Ganymede; nor was He liberated by that hundred-handed giant[2] whose assistance Thetis obtained; nor was He solicitous, in return for such aid, that Achilles, the son of Thetis, because of his concubine Briseis, should slaughter so many Greeks. We feel sorry for those who believe these things, but we know that the real instigators are the demons.

Chapter 26

In the third[1] place [we wish to state] that, after the Ascension of Christ into Heaven, the demons produced certain men who claimed to be gods, who were not only not molested by you, but even showered with honors. There was a certain Simon,[2] a Samaritan, from the village called Gitta, who, in the time of Emperor Claudius, through the force of the demons working in him, performed mighty acts of magic in your royal city of Rome, and was reputed to be a god. And as a god he was honored by you with a statue, which was erected [on an island] in the Tiber River, between the two bridges,

2 Briareus.

1 The third argument is that truth only is persecuted. Even those heretics whom the demons urged to corrupt the Christian teachings were not persecuted for their beliefs alone.

2 Simon Magus of Samaria was baptized by Philip the Deacon about the year 36. Shortly afterwards, he offered St. Peter money in exchange for spiritual powers. Rebuked by St. Peter for his sin of *simony*, he became his avowed enemy. Because he was the earliest adversary of the Church, he is considered the patriarch of heretics. Indeed, his doctrine contained the seed whence later grew Gnosticism.

with this Roman inscription: 'To Simon, the holy God.'[3] Almost every Samaritan, and even a few from other regions, worship him and call him the first God. And they call a certain Helena, who was his traveling companion at that time, and had formerly been a prostitute, the first idea generated from him. And we know, too, that a certain Menander,[4] also of Samaria, of the town of Capparetaea, a disciple of Simon, and likewise inspired by the demons, deceived many by his tricks of magic while he was at Antioch. He even convinced his followers that they would never die, and there are some alive today who, inspired by him, still believe this. Then there is a certain Marcion of Pontus,[5] who even now still teaches his disciples to believe in another and greater god than the Creator. Assisted by the demons, he has caused many men of every country to blaspheme, and to deny that God is the Creator of the universe, and to proclaim another god to

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3 The Latin inscription would have been, according to Justin, *Simoni Sancto Deo.* This story was repeated by Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* 2.13; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.23,4; Tertullian, *Apol.* 13. In the year 1574, excavators found on the island of the Tiber a column with an inscription whose first part reads: *Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio Sacrum.* Scholars immediately claimed that this was the pedestal of the statue mentioned by Justin and that Justin misread the inscription, for, they say, it was dedicated not to *Simoni Sancto Deo,* but to *Semoni Sanco*—a Sabine god. But there is no proof that the pedestal found in 1574 belonged to the same statue mentioned by Justin back in the second century. The identity of the two statues has been presumed, yet it is not beyond the realm of probability that there were two statues in the city of Rome where all sorts of pagan superstitions had their statues and altars. It has not been definitely proved, therefore, that Justin was mistaken in saying that the Romans considered Simon Magus a god and honored him with a statue.

4 Menander, a disciple and successor of Simon Magus, also had Messianic delusions. He introduced baptism among his followers and told them it would keep them eternally young and free from death.

5 He was born at Sinope in Pontus. About the year 140, he went to Rome. There his teaching was condemned and he then joined the Gnostic Cerdo and later founded his own sect based on a system of dualism.

be greater and to have done greater deeds than He. All who follow these men are, as we said above, called Christians, just as those who do not share the same doctrines share among philosophers the name of philosophy. We do not know whether they are guilty of those disgraceful and fabulous deeds, the upsetting of the lamp, promiscuous intercourse, and anthropophagy,[6] but we do know, that you neither molest nor execute them, at least not for their beliefs. We have a treatise written against all the heresies that have arisen, which, if you wish to read, we will give to you.

Chapter 27

Lest we molest[1] anyone or commit sin ourselves, we have been taught that it is wicked to expose even newly-born children,[2] first, because we see that almost all those who are exposed (not only girls, but boys) are raised in prostitution. As your forefathers are said to have raised herds of oxen,

6 The pagans, after hearing only vague reports (due to the *Disciplina Arcani*) of the activities at the Christian assemblies—reports of the eating of someone's flesh and the drinking of his blood; of the exchange of the kiss of peace among the Christians who called one another brother and sister—reconstructed the scene in this way: the neophytes were given clubs with which to beat a huge lump of dough in which an infant had been concealed. After the infant was killed, its blood and its flesh were consumed by those present. This was followed, they thought, by the extinguishing of the lights and every sort of immorality. Thus arose the stock accusations against the Christians: infanticide, cannibalism (Thyestean feasts), and incest (Oedipodean intercourse). Cf. Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 3; Tertullian, *Apol.* 7; Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 9.

1 *Diókomen, 'molest.'* There is no need to read *adikómen,* for Justin's meaning is that Christians consider it unlawful to expose children, because by doing so they would be doing wrong to the children in case they were not found and sheltered, or, if found, they might be educated in evil practices.

2 The custom was then not uncommon of abandoning unwanted infants along the hillside or roadside.

or goats, or sheep, or grazing horses,[3] you now raise children only for this same disgraceful purpose, for in every country there is a throng of females, hermaphrodites, and degenerates, ready for this evil practice. And you, who should eradicate them from your land, instead accept wages, tribute, and taxes from them.[4] Anyone who consorts with them, besides being guilty of a godless, impious, and shameful action, may by some chance be guilty of intercourse with his own child, or relative, or brother. There are some who make prostitutes even of their own children and wives; for purposes of sodomy, some are publicly known to have been mutilated; and they impute these secret cults to the mother of the gods, and beside each of those whom you consider gods is painted a serpent,[5] as a great symbol and mystery. In truth, what is publicly done and honored by you, as if the divine light were overturned and extinguished, you hold against us. This, of course, does not harm us who refuse to do such evil things, but it does harm those who practice them and those who falsely accuse us.

Chapter 28

As you may learn by examining our writings, the chief of the wicked demons we call the serpent, Satan, the devil, and Christ foretold that he with his army of demons, and the men who follow him, will be cast into the fire [of Hell] to be punished for endless ages. The cause of God's delay in doing this is his regard for mankind, for in His foreknowledge He sees that some will be saved by repentance, some who are, perhaps, not yet in existence. Indeed, in the beginning

3 Cf. Tatian, *Oratio ad Graec.* 28; Clemens Alex., *Paed.* 3, 4, 26.

4 Taxes for prostitution were first imposed by Caligula (cf. Suetonius, *Cal.* 40) and were not abolished until the time of Justinian.

5 A familiar figure in pagan religions as the symbol of eternity, power, and wisdom.

when He created man, He endowed him with the power of understanding, of choosing the truth, and of doing right; consequently, before God no man has an excuse if he does evil, for all men have been created with the power to reason and to reflect. If anyone does not believe that God takes an interest in these things, he will by some artifice imply either that God does not exist, or that though He does exist, He takes delight in evil, or that He is [as unmoved] as stone, and that neither virtue nor vice is a reality, but that things are considered good or bad only in the opinion of men: this indeed would be the height of blasphemy and injustice.

Chapter 29

Still [another reason against exposing children is], lest some of them would not be [discovered and] taken home, but die, and we would then be murderers. But either we marry, in the first place, in order to raise children, or, refusing to marry, we live in continence for the rest of our lives. Recently, one of us Christians, to convince you that promiscuous intercourse is not one of our practices, presented a petition to Felix, the Prefect of Alexandria, asking that a surgeon be allowed to make him a eunuch, for the physicians in that place said that without the prefect's permission it was forbidden[1] to do this. When Felix positively refused to grant the permission, the youth remained unmarried and continent, and he was satisfied with the approval of his own conscience and that of his fellow believers. And we do not consider it out of place here to mention Antinous,[2] who

1 By a law dating back to the Emperor Nerva (96-98).
2 Antinous, a favorite of the Emperor Hadrian, drowned in the Nile River. After his death Hadrian ordered divine honors bestowed upon him.

was alive until recently, and whom everyone reverently began to worship as a god, even though they all knew who he was and whence he came.

Chapter 30

Lest anyone should object and ask, 'What prevents us from supposing that He whom we call Christ was a man born of men, and has worked what we term miracles through the art of magic,[1] and thus appeared to be the Son of God,' we now present proof that such was not the case.[2] We shall do so not by trusting in mere statements [without proof], but by necessarily believing those who predicted these things before they happened, for we are actual eye-witnesses of events that have happened and are happening in the very manner in which they were foretold. This, we are sure, will appear even to you the greatest and truest proof.

Chapter 31

Indeed, there were certain men among the Jews who were Prophets of God, through whom the Prophetic Spirit predicted events, that were to happen, before they actually took place. The successive kings of Judea carefully kept their prophetic sayings in their possession, as they were worded at the time of their utterance in their Hebrew language, and as they were arranged in books by the Prophets themselves. When Ptolemy,[1] King of Egypt, was forming a library, and attempt-

1 A common accusation cited and answered by Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 1.43: *Magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit.*

2 Justin now begins his proof that Christ was the Son of God.

1 I.e., Ptolemy Philadelphus, who in the third century before Christ had the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek at the Museum in Alexandria. This is the famous Septuagint version.

ing to collect the writings of every nation, he heard about these prophetic writings and he sent to Herod,[2] then King of the Jews, asking that he send the prophetic books to him. King Herod did send them, written, as we said, in the Hebrew language. But when the Egyptians could not understand these writings, he again sent and asked for some persons[3] to translate them into the Greek tongue. After this was accomplished, the books remained in the possession of the Egyptians from that day to this, as they are also in the possession of every Jew, wherever he be. But these Jews, though they read the books, fail to grasp their meaning, and they consider us as their enemies[4] and adversaries, killing and punishing us, just as you do, whenever they are able to do so, as you can readily imagine. In the recent Jewish war, Bar Kocheba,[5] the leader of the Jewish uprising, ordered that only the Christians should be subjected to dreadful torments, unless they renounced and blasphemed Jesus Christ. In the books of the Prophets, indeed, we found Jesus our Christ foretold as coming to us born of a virgin, reaching manhood, curing every disease and ailment, raising the dead to life, being hated, unrecognized, and crucified, dying, rising from the dead, ascending into Heaven, and being called and actually being the Son of God. And [we found predicted also] that He would send certain persons to every nation to make known these things, and that the former Gentiles rather [than Jews]

2 Justin is here guilty of an anachronism, for Herod was not then King of the Jews. Grabe, Maran, and others lay the blame on the scribe, who should have written *basileúonti hierei* instead of *basileúonti heróde.* In fact, Philo (*De vit. Mos.* 2) claims that the high priest (viz., Eleazar) to whom Ptolemy sent his request was also King of the Jews.

3 Justin, like Philo and Josephus, here follows the account of Aristeas on the seventy-two translators of the Bible.

4 Jewish hostility to Christianity is mentioned often by Justin.

5 Leader in the Jewish war of insurrection against the Roman power (132-135).

would believe in Him. He was foretold, in truth, before He actually appeared, first five thousand years before,[6] then three thousand, then two thousand, then one thousand, and, finally, eight hundred. For, in succeeding generations new Prophets rose time and again.

Chapter 32

Indeed, Moses, the first of the Prophets, spoke literally in these words: 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh, until He come for whom it is reserved; and He shall be the desire of nations, tying His foal to the vine, washing His robe in the blood of the grape.'[1] It is up to you to make a thorough investigation and to learn up to what time the Jews had their own ruler and king. [They had a ruler] until the coming of Jesus Christ our Teacher, and Expounder of the prophecies that were not then understood, as the divine and holy Prophetic Spirit predicted through Moses: 'The ruler will not depart from Juda, until He come, for whom the kingdom is reserved.' For Juda was the forefather of the Jews, and from him they derive their name; and after He [Christ] appeared you started to rule the Jews, and have become masters of their whole country. But the prophecy, 'He shall be the desire of nations,' meant that people from all nations would look for His second coming, as you yourselves can see with your own eyes and be convinced by factual evidence; for men of every nation look for Him who was crucified in Judea, after whose coming the country of the Jews was immediately given over to you as booty of war. And the words, 'tying His foal

6 Some claim that Adam is here meant; others, Enoch. Justin, in Ch. 42, places David at 1500 B.C.

1 Gen. 49.10.

to the vine, and washing His robe in the blood of the grape,' allegorically signified the things that would befall Christ, and the deeds that He would perform. For the foal of a donkey stood tied to a vine[2] at the entrance to a village, and He ordered His disciples to lead it to Him, and when this was done, He mounted and sat upon it, and entered Jerusalem, where was located the greatest Jewish temple, which you later destroyed. After this He was crucified, in order that the rest of the prophecy be verified, for the words, 'washing His robe in the blood of the grape,' were a forewarning of the passion He was to endure, purifying with His blood those who believe in Him. For, what the Divine Spirit called through the prophet 'His robe' are those believers in Christ, in whom dwells the seed[3] of God, namely, the Word. And the saying, 'the blood of the grape,' means that He who was to appear would have blood, though not through the seed of man, but through the power of God. The first power after God the Father and Lord of all things is the Word, who is also His Son, who assumed human flesh and became man in the manner which we shall presently explain. For, just as God, not man, made the blood of the grape, so was it indicated also that this blood would not arise from human seed, but from the power of God, as we stated above. Another Prophet, Isaias, expressing the thoughts in different language, spoke thus: 'A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a flower shall spring from the root of Jesse, and in His arm shall nations trust.'[4] Indeed, a brilliant star has arisen, and a

2 The Synoptics (Matt. 21.2; Mark 11.2; Luke 19.30) make no mention of the vine.

3 Justin here speaks of the seminal word (which is in every man and is his reason), as distinct from the Perfect Word who is in the faithful only.

4 Num. 24.17.

flower has sprung up from the root of Jesse—this is Christ. For, by God's power He was conceived by a virgin who was a descendant of Jacob, who was the father of Juda, the above-mentioned father of the Jewish race; and Jesse was His forefather according to this prophecy, and He was the son of Jacob and Juda according to lineage.

Chapter 33

And, again, hear how it was expressly foretold by Isaias that He was to be born of a virgin; here is the prophecy: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and His name shall be called Emmanuel' [i.e., God with us].[1] For, what man has deemed incredible and impossible, God foretold through the Prophetic Spirit as about to take place, so that, when they did take place, they should not be denied, but believed because they had been foretold. But, lest some who do not grasp the meaning of this prophecy should accuse us of the very things of which we accused the poets who said that Jupiter approached women for the sake of sensual pleasure, let us attempt to explain the words of the prophecy. The words, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive,' therefore mean that the virgin shall conceive without intercourse. For, if she had had intercourse with anyone whomsoever, she was then no longer a virgin, but, the power of God descending upon the virgin overshadowed her, and caused her, while still a virgin, to conceive. And the angel of God, who was then sent to that same virgin, carried the glad news to her when he said: 'Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb of the Holy Ghost, and shalt bring forth a Son, and He shall be called the Son of the Most High, and thou shalt call His

1 Isa. 7.14; (Matt. 1.23).

name Jesus, for He shall deliver His people from their sins.'[2] This happened as related by the recorders of all the acts of our Savior, Jesus Christ, whom we believed, and through the above-mentioned Isaias the Prophetic Spirit foretold that He should be born in the manner we stated above. It is not right, therefore, to understand the Spirit and the power of God as anything else than the Word, who is also the First-begotten of God, as Moses,[3] the previously mentioned Prophet, has stated. And it was this Spirit who came upon the virgin, overshadowed her, and brought it about that she became pregnant, not by sexual intercourse, but by divine power. Jesus is a name in the Hebrew tongue which means Savior in the Greek; thus, the angel said to the virgin: 'And thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall deliver His people from their sins.' I think that even you will concede that the Prophets are inspired by none other than the Divine Word.

Chapter 34

And hear in what part of this earth He was to be born, as it was foretold by another Prophet, Micheas, who spoke thus: 'And thou, Bethlehem, land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a Ruler, who shall feed my people.'[1] Now, this [Bethlehem] is a certain village in the land of the Jews, distant thirty-five stadia from Jerusalem, where Jesus Christ was born, as you can learn by consulting the census taken by Quirinius, your first procurator in Judea.[2]

2 Luke 1.31.

3 Many would substitute the name Isaias for Moses in this passage because, they claim, it would better agree with the context. But I follow Maran (*PG* 6.381) in retaining the Mss. reading, for Justin, in his *Dialogue* 52, cites Moses to prove that Christ was the First-begotten.

1 Mich. 5.2; (Matt. 2.6).

2 Actually, he was a legate of Syria.

Chapter 35

Hear also how it was foretold that, after His birth, Christ should escape the notice of other men until He reached the age of maturity, and this also took place. Here are the words of the prophecy: 'A child is born to us, and a young man is given to us, and the government is upon His shoulders.'[1] This signifies the power of the cross, which, at His crucifixion, He placed on His shoulders, as shall be demonstrated more clearly as we proceed in this discourse. And again the same Prophet Isaias, inspired by the Prophetic Spirit, said: 'I have stretched out my hands to an unbelieving and contradicting people, who walk in a way that is not good.[2] They now ask judgment from Me, and dare to approach God.'[3] Again [the Prophetic Spirit] says, in other words, through another Prophet: 'They have pierced My hands and My feet, and have cast lots for My clothing.'[4] David, however, the king and prophet who spoke these words, endured none of these sufferings, but Jesus Christ stretched out His hands when He was crucified by the Jews who contradicted Him and denied that He was the Messiah. And, as the Prophet said, they placed Him in mockery on the judgment seat, and said: 'Judge us.'[5] And the words, 'They have pierced My hands and My feet,' refer to the nails which transfixed His hands and feet on the cross. And, after He was crucified, they cast lots for His clothing, and His crucifiers divided it among themselves. That these things really happened, you can ascertain from the Acts of Pontius Pilate. We shall now cite the predictions of another Prophet, Sophonias, to prove

1 Isa. 9.6.
2 Isa. 65.2.
3 Isa. 58.2.
4 Ps. 21.17-19.
5 Cf. Matt. 27.26-30.

that it was foretold that He was to enter Jerusalem sitting upon the foal of an ass. Here are the words of the prophecy: 'Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion, shout for joy, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy King cometh to thee, gentle and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.'[6]

Chapter 36

However, when you listen to the prophecies, spoken as in the person [of someone], do not think that they were spoken by the inspired Prophets of their own accord, but by the Word of God who prompts them. For, sometimes He asserts, in the manner of a Prophet, what is going to happen; sometimes He speaks as in the name of God, the Lord and Father of all; sometimes, as in the name of Christ; sometimes, as in the name of the people replying to the Lord, or to His Father. So it may be observed even in your own writers, where one person writes the entire narrative, but introduces different persons who carry on the conversation. The Jews, who possess the writings of the Prophets, did not understand this; not only did they not recognize Christ when He came, but they even hate us who declare that He has come, and who show that He was crucified by them, as it was foretold.

Chapter 37

In order that this truth may also be clear to you, there were uttered in the name of the Father, through the forementioned Prophet, Isaias, the following words: 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel hath not known Me, and My people hath not understood.

6 The quotation is not from Sophonias, but from Zacharias (9.9).

Woe, sinful nation, people laden with iniquity, wicked seed, lawless sons, ye have forsaken the Lord.'[1] And again, in another passage, when the same Prophet again speaks in the name of the Father: 'What is this house that you will build unto Me? saith the Lord. Heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool.'[2] And yet again, in another passage: 'My soul hateth your new moons and your sabbaths; I cannot bear the great day of the fast and your idleness; nor will I heed you, if you come to be seen by Me. Your hands are full of blood. And if you bring fine flour [or] incense, it is an abomination to Me; the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls, I desire not. For who hath required these things from your hands?[3] But loose every bond of iniquity, tear apart the knots of contracts made by violence, shelter the homeless and naked, deal thy bread to the hungry.'[4] You can now understand what things were taught through the Prophets in the name of God [the Father].

Chapter 38

When the Prophetic Spirit speaks in the name of Christ, these are His words: 'I stretched forth My hands to a rebellious and contradicting people, who walk in a way that is not good.'[1] And again: 'I have extended My back to the scourges and My cheeks to the blow; I have not turned My face away from the shame of spittings; and the Lord was My helper, therefore I was not confounded; but I set My face like a hard rock, and I knew that I would not be put

1 Isa. 1.3,4.
2 Isa. 66.1.
3 Isa. 1.11-15.
4 Isa. 58.6,7.

1 Isa. 65.2.

to shame, for He is near that justifieth Me.'[2] And again, when He says: 'They have cast lots for My clothing, and they have pierced My feet, and My hands.'[3] 'I have slept and have taken My rest, and I have risen up, because the Lord hath protected Me.'[4] And yet again, when He says: 'They have spoken with their lips and have wagged their heads, saying, "Let Him deliver Himself." '[5] That all the above-mentioned things happened to Christ at the hands of the Jews you can easily learn, for, as He lay crucified on the cross, they wagged their heads and sneered as they exclaimed: 'Let Him who raised the dead to life save Himself.'[6]

Chapter 39

But when the Prophetic Spirit speaks, as foretelling what is going to happen, His words are the following: 'For the law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge the Gentiles, and rebuke many people; and they shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into sickles; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they be exercised any more in war.'[1] That this prophecy, too, was verified you can readily believe, for twelve illiterate men, unskilled in the art of speaking, went out from Jerusalem into the world, and by the power of God they announced to the men of every nation that they were sent by Christ to teach everyone the word of God; and we, who once killed one another, [now] not only do not wage war against our enemies, but,

2 Isa. 50.6.
3 Ps. 21.17-19.
4 Ps. 3.5.
5 Ps. 21.8.
6 Matt. 27.39.

1 Isa. 2.3,4.

in order to avoid lying or deceiving our examiners, we even meet death cheerfully, confessing Christ. In this case we might well follow that saying: 'The tongue has sworn, but the mind is unsworn.'[2] But, if the soldiers enrolled and sworn in by you prefer the allegiance they owe to you rather than their own life, their parents, their country, and all their relatives, though you cannot offer them anything immortal as reward, it would be ridiculous if we who long for immortality should not bear all things patiently, in order to attain what we hope for from Him who has the power to grant it.

Chapter 40

Now hear what was predicted of those who preached His doctrine and announced His coming, for thus spoke the fore-mentioned prophet and king through the inspiration of the Prophetic Spirit: 'Day to day uttereth speech, and night to night showeth knowledge. There are no speeches nor languages, where their voices are not heard. Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. He hath set His tent in the sun, and He, as a bridegroom coming out of his wedding chamber, shall rejoice as a giant to run his course.'[1] To these we have thought it proper and appropriate to add some other prophecies of David, from which you may know how the Prophetic Spirit invites men to live, and how He predicted the plot formed against Christ by Herod, king of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, and Pilate, your procurator of the Jews, with his soldiers; and how men from every nation would believe in Him, and how God [the Father]calls Him His Son, and

2 Euripides, *Hippol.* 607. Cicero (*De Off.* 3.29) gives a Latin version: *Iuravi lingua, mentem iniuratam gero.*

1 Ps. 18.3-6.

has announced that He shall subject all His enemies to Him; and how the demons do their utmost to escape the power both of God, the Father and Lord of all, and of Christ Himself; and how God calls everyone to repent before the day of judgment arrives. His [David's] words were these: 'Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence; but his will is in the law of the Lord, and on this law he shall meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted near running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit in due season; and his leaf shall not fall off, and whatsoever he shall do shall prosper. Not so the wicked, not so; but they are like the dust which the wind driveth from the face of the earth. Therefore the wicked shall not rise again in judgment nor the sinners in the council of the just. For the Lord knoweth the way of the just; and the way of the wicked shall perish.[2] Why have the Gentiles raged, and the people devised vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes met together against the Lord, and against His Christ, saying: "Let us break their bonds asunder, and let us cast away their yoke from us." He that dwelleth in Heaven shall laugh at them, and the Lord shall deride them. Then shall He speak to them in His anger, and trouble them in His rage. But I am appointed king by Him over Sion, His holy mountain, preaching His commandment. The Lord hath said to Me: "Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for Thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and shall break them in pieces like a potter's vessel." And now, O ye kings, under-

2 Ps. 1.1-6.

stand, receive instruction, you that judge the earth. Serve ye the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling. Embrace discipline, lest at any time the Lord be angry, and you perish from the just way, when His wrath is suddenly kindled; blessed are all they that trust in Him.'[3]

Chapter 41

In yet another prophecy, the Prophetic Spirit, revealing through the same David that Christ would reign after His crucifixion, spoke thus: 'Sing ye to the Lord, all the earth, and show forth His salvation from day to day. For the Lord is great, and exceedingly to be praised; He is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the Gentiles are idols of demons; but God made the heavens. Glory and praise are before Him, strength and glorying are in His sanctuary. Give glory to the Lord, the Father everlasting; receive grace, and enter His presence, and worship in His holy courts. Let all the earth be fearful before His face, and be well established and not be shaken. Let them rejoice among the Gentiles, saying: "The Lord hath reigned from the tree." '[1]

Chapter 42

Now we will explain why the Prophetic Spirit speaks of what is about to take place as if it had already happened (as may be seen in the above-quoted passages), so that our readers will have no excuse [for remaining in error]. The

3 Ps. 2.1-13.

1 Ps. 95.1-13. Justin (*Dialogue* 73) wrongly accused the Jews of expunging from their text the words: 'from the tree.' These words appear neither in the Hebrew nor the Septuagint text, but Tertullian knew them; they are an early Christian addition (Cf. *Letter of Barnabas* 8).

things which He certainly knows will come to pass He foretells as if they have already come to pass. You must give your full attention to these prophecies to realize that they must be accepted as such. David uttered the words quoted [in the preceding chapter] fifteen hundred[1] years before Christ the Incarnate was crucified, and no one before Him or after Him occasioned joy among the Gentiles by being crucified. Yet, our Jesus Christ, after His crucifixion and death, arose from the dead and, after ascending into Heaven, ruled there; through the tidings announced by the Apostles in His name to the people of every nation, joy is given to those who look forward to the immortality promised by Him.

Chapter 43

Now, lest some persons conclude from what we have just stated that whatever takes place must necessarily do so by force of destiny, because of the prediction of things foreknown, we make answer to this, too. Through the Prophets we have learned, and we profess as true, that punishments, and torments, and wonderful rewards are distributed according to the merit of each man's actions. If such were not the case, but everything were to happen by fate,[1] no choice would be in our power at all. For, if fate decrees that this man is to be good and this other man evil, neither the former is praiseworthy, nor the latter blameworthy. Furthermore, if man does not have the free faculty to shun evil and to choose good, then, whatever his actions may be, he is not responsible for them. But we will now prove that

1 Grabe claims that this was not Justin's mistake, but the scribe's, who should have written *ár* (1,100) instead of *áph* (1,500).

1 A teaching of Stoic philosophy, the favorite philosophy of the emperor and princes to whom this apology is addressed.

only by free will does man act rightly and wrongfully. We observe a man in pursuit of opposite things; if, however, he were destined to be either evil or good, he would not be able to attain both opposites nor would he change his mind so often. Nor would some men be good and others evil, for then we would have to affirm fate to be the cause of good and evil and to act in opposition to itself; or what has been declared above would seem to be true, namely, that neither virtue nor vice is any thing real, but things are considered either good or bad by opinion only—which, as sound reason shows, is the greatest impiety and injustice. This, however, we say is inevitable fate, that they who choose good have merited rewards, just as those who prefer the contrary have appropriate punishments. God did not create man like the other beings, trees and quadrupeds, for example, which can do nothing by free choice. For, neither would he deserve reward or praise if he did not choose good of his own accord, but were created precisely for this purpose; nor, if he were sinful, would he deserve punishment, since he would not be such of himself nor able to be other than what he was born.

Chapter 44

Indeed, the Holy Prophetic Spirit taught us this when He informed us through Moses that God spoke the following words to the first man: 'Behold, before thy face are good and evil, choose the good.'[1] And again, through Isaias, another Prophet, as from God the Father and Lord of the universe, the following words were spoken in the same vein: 'Wash yourselves, be clean; banish sin from your souls, learn to do well; judge for the fatherless, and defend the widow; and then come and let us reason together, saith the Lord:

1 Deut. 30.15.19.

And if your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool; and if they be red as crimson, I will make them white as snow. And if you be willing and will hearken to Me, you shall eat the good things of the land; but if you will not hear Me, the sword shall devour you. For thus has spoken the mouth of the Lord.'[2] The words, 'The sword shall devour you,' do not mean that the disobedient will be put to death by swords, but that the sword of God is the fire of which those who choose to do evil shall be made the fuel. Therefore, He says: 'The sword shall devour you: for thus has spoken the mouth of the Lord.' If, however, He had meant a sword that cuts and immediately destroys, He would not have used the expression, 'shall devour.' Plato, too, when he stated: 'To him who chooses belongs the guilt, but in God there is no guilt,'[3] borrowed the thought from the Prophet Moses. Indeed, Moses is more ancient than all the Greek authors, and everything the philosophers and poets said in speaking about the immortality of the soul, or retribution after death, or speculation on celestial matters, or other similar doctrines, they took from the Prophets as the source of information, and from them they have been able to understand and explain these matters. Thus, the seeds of truth seem to be among all men, but that they did not grasp their exact meaning is evident from the fact that they contradict themselves. So, if we declare that future events have been predicted, by that we do not claim that they take place by the necessity of fate. But, since God has foreknowledge of what all men will do, and has ordained that each man will be rewarded in accordance with the merit of his actions, foretells through the Prophetic Spirit that He Himself will reward them in accord-

2 Isa. 1.16-20.
3 *De Repub.* 10.617E.

ance with the merit of their deeds, ever urging men to reflection and remembrance, proving that He both cares and provides for them. But at the instigation of the wicked demons, the punishment of death has been decreed[4] against those who read the books of Hystaspes, or the Sibyl, or the Prophets, in order that they may, through fear, stop prospective readers from acquiring a knowledge of fine things, and keep them as their own slaves; which they were not completely able to do. For, not only do we read those books without fear, but, as you see, we offer them to you to inspect, confident that their contents will please everyone. Even if we persuade only a few, we shall obtain very great rewards, for, like good laborers, we shall receive recompense from the Master.

Chapter 45

That God the Father of the universe would bring Christ to Heaven after His resurrection from the dead, and would keep Him there until He struck His enemies, the demons, and until the completion of the quota of those whom He foreknows to be good and virtuous, because of whom He has always delayed the consummation of the world, listen to the words spoken through David the Prophet: 'The Lord said to My Lord: Sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool. The Lord shall send to Thee the sceptre of power out of Jerusalem; and rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies. With Thee is the government in the day of Thy power, in the brightness of Thy saints. From

4 Perhaps the degree cited in Jul. Paul. *Sentent. recept.* 5, 21, 3: *qui de salute principis vel de summa rei publicae mathematicos, hariolos, haruspices, vaticinatores consulit cum eo qui responderit capite punitur. . . . Non tantum divinatione quis, sed ipsa scientia eiusque libris melius fecerit abstinere.*

the womb have I begotten Thee before the morning star.'[1] The words, 'He shall send to Thee the sceptre of power out of Jerusalem,' signified the powerful teaching which the Apostles, going out from Jerusalem, preached everywhere. And although death is determined for those who teach, or even profess, the name of Christ, we everywhere both accept and teach it. But, if you also should read these words with hostile mind, you can do nothing more, as we already stated, than kill us, which does no real harm to us, but does bring the eternal punishment of fire to you and to all who unjustly hate and do not repent.

Chapter 46

Lest some should unreasonably assert, in order to turn men from our teaching, that we affirm that Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago[1] under Quirinius, and then afterward, under Pontius Pilate, taught what we claim He did, and should accuse us as if [we said] all men born before the time of Christ were not accountable for their actions, we shall anticipate and answer such a difficulty. We have been taught that Christ was First-begotten of God [the Father] and we have indicated above that He is the Word of whom all mankind partakes. Those who lived by reason are Christians, even though they have been considered atheists: such as, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and others like them; and among the foreigners, Abraham, Elias, Ananias,

1 Ps. 109.1-3.

1 Justin probably used round numbers here, otherwise the date of this *Apology* would have to be placed, at the latest, in the year 147. But Felix the Prefect of Alexandria (mentioned in Ch. 29), has been identified as Munacius Felix, Prefect of Alexandria from 148 to 154. The *Apology*, therefore, must have been written after 147.

Azarias, Misael,[2] and many others whose deeds or names we now forbear to enumerate, for we think it would be too long. So, also, they who lived before Christ and did not live by reason were useless men, enemies of Christ, and murderers of those who did live by reason. But those who have lived reasonably, and still do, are Christians, and are fearless and untroubled. From all that has been said an intelligent man can understand why, through the power of the Word, in accordance with the will of God, the Father and Lord of all, He was born as a man of a virgin, was named Jesus, was crucified, died, rose again, and ascended into Heaven. But, since the proof of this topic is not necessary at this time, we shall now proceed to the proof of more urgent matters.

Chapter 47

Listen, also, to what the Prophetic Spirit said concerning the future devastation of the land of the Jews. His words were spoken as if in the name of the people who wondered at what had happened. These are the words: 'Sion has been made a wilderness, Jerusalem has become a desolation; the house, our sanctuary has become a curse; and the glory which our fathers praised is burned with fire; and all its glorious things have fallen in ruins. And Thou refrainest Thyself at these things, and hast held Thy peace, and hast humbled us greatly.'[1] And you know full well that, as it was foretold to come to pass, Jerusalem has been destroyed. That it would be destroyed and that no one would be allowed to dwell therein was thus foretold by the Prophet

2 These last three are also known as Sidrach, Abdenago, and Misach, the three children who were unharmed by the flames of the fiery furnace (Dan. 1.7; 3.20-93).

1 Isa. 64.10-12

Isaias: 'Their land is desolate, and their enemies consume it before them, and none of them shall dwell therein.[2] And you are fully aware that it was guarded by you, lest anyone should dwell in it, and that a death penalty was decreed for any Jew caught entering it.

Chapter 48

Concerning the prophecy that our Christ should cure all diseases and raise the dead to life, hear what was spoken. Here are the exact words of the prophecy: 'At His coming the lame shall leap like a stag, and the tongue of the dumb shall be clear; the blind shall see, and the lepers shall be cleansed, and the dead shall rise and walk about.'[1] That Christ did perform such deeds you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate. Hear, also, the following words of Isaias, which tell how the Prophetic Spirit foretold that Christ and those men who trusted in Him should be put to death: 'Behold how the Just One perisheth, and no one takes it to heart; and how just men are slain, and no one gives it a thought. The Just One is snatched from the face of evil, and His burial shall be in peace, He is taken from our midst.'[2]

Chapter 49

Consider, too, how this same Isaias foretold that the Gentiles, who did not look forward to the Messiah, should worship Him, but the Jews, who were always awaiting His arrival, should not recognize Him when He did arrive. These are his words spoken as in the name of Christ Himself: 'I

2 Isa. 1.7.

1 Isa. 35.5,6.
2 Isa. 57.1,2.

was manifest to those who did not ask for Me; I was found by those who did not seek Me. I said, "Behold Me" to a nation that did not call upon My name. I stretched out My hands to an unbelieving and contradicting people, who walk along a way that is not good, but follow after their own sins; a people who provoke Me to anger before My face.'[1] The Jews, in truth, who had the prophecies and always looked for the coming of Christ, not only did not recognize Him, but, far beyond that, even mistreated Him. But the Gentiles, who had never even heard anything of Christ until His Apostles went from Jerusalem and preached about Him and gave them the prophecies, were filled with joy and faith, and turned away from their idols, and dedicated themselves to the Unbegotten God through Christ. That these slanders which were to be directed against those who confess Christ were foreknown, and how they who slander Him and who claim that it is well to retain the ancient customs would be afflicted, listen to these few words of Isaias: 'Woe unto those who call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet.'[2]

Chapter 50

Listen, also, to the prophecies that foretold how, after He became man for us, Christ, submitted to suffering and dishonor, and how He shall come again in glory. Here are the prophecies: 'Because they delivered His soul unto death, and He was reputed with the wicked, He hath borne the sins of many, and shall pray for the transgressors.'[1] 'For, behold, My servant shall understand, and shall be exalted and greatly glorified. As many shall be astonished at Thee, so

1 Isa. 65.1-3.
2 Isa. 5.20.

1 Isa. 53.12.

shall Thy form be inglorious before men, and Thy glory shall be hidden from before men; so shall many nations wonder, and kings shall shut their mouths at Him. For they to whom it was not told concerning Him and they who have not heard about Him, will understand.'[2] 'O Lord, who hath believed our report? And to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have spoken in His sight as a child, as a root in dry ground; there is no beauty in Him, nor glory, and we have seen Him, and He had no form or beauty, but His form was dishonored and despised beyond that of men. He was a Man of sorrows, who knew how to endure infirmity, for His face was turned away; He was despised and not of good repute. He Himself bears our sins, and suffers for us; and we have thought Him to be in distress, under blows, and affliction. But He was wounded for our iniquities, and He was bruised for our sins. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him; by His bruises we are healed. Like sheep we have all gone astray; every man has wandered in his own way. And He delivered Him for our sins, and throughout His afflictions He opened not His mouth. He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and He remained dumb as a lamb before its shearer, so He opens not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away.'[3] Thus, after His Crucifixion, all His close followers deserted His cause and even denied Him. Afterwards, when He arose from the dead, and appeared to them, and taught them to read the prophecies in which all the above happenings were predicted as about to take place, and after they had seen Him ascending into Heaven, and had believed, and had received the power He thence sent to them, they went forth to every nation to teach these things, and they were called Apostles.

2 Isa. 52.13-15.
3 Isa. 53.1-8.

Chapter 51

Furthermore, in order to make known to us that He who suffered these things had an indescribable origin, and rules over His enemies, the Prophetic Spirit spoke thus: 'Who shall declare His generation? For His life is taken away from the earth; for their sins is He led to death. And I will give the wicked for His burial and the rich for His death, for He has done no wrong nor has any deceit been found in His mouth; and the Lord is pleased to cleanse Him of the blow. If He shall be given over for sin, your soul shall see His seed prolonged. And the Lord desires to free His soul of sorrow, and to show Him light, and form Him with knowledge, to justify the Just One who administers well to many. And He shall bear our sins; for this He shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoils of the strong; because His soul was consigned to death, and He was reputed with the wicked, and He has borne the sins of many, and because of their sins He was delivered up.'[1] Hear, too, the prophecy of how He was to ascend into Heaven. Thus was it spoken: 'Lift up the gates of Heaven, and be ye opened, that the King of Glory may enter. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord strong, and the Lord mighty.'[2] And hear what the Prophet Jeremias said about how He was to come again from Heaven in glory. These are his words: 'Behold, as the Son of Man He comes upon the clouds of heaven, and His angels with Him.'[3]

Chapter 52

Now, since we show that all those things that have happened had been foretold by the Prophets before they hap-

1 Isa. 53.8-12.
2 Ps. 23.7,8.
3 This passage is not found in Jeremias, but in Daniel 7.13.

pened, it must of necessity also be believed that those things which were likewise foretold, but are yet to happen, shall with certainty come to pass. For, just as those things which have already happened took place as they were foretold, or have remained unrecognized, so future events, even if they are not known or believed, shall come to pass. The Prophets have foretold two comings of Christ: the one, which already took place, was that of a dishonored and suffering man; the other coming will take place, as it is predicted, when He shall gloriously come from Heaven with His angelic army, when He shall also raise to life the bodies of all the men that ever were, shall cloak the worthy with immortality, and shall relegate the wicked, subject to sensible pain for all eternity, into the eternal fire together with the evil demons. We will now show how these things also have been predicted as yet to happen. Thus spoke the Prophet Ezechiel: 'Joint shall be placed against joint, and bone against bone. And flesh shall grow again,[1] and every knee shall bend before the Lord, and every tongue shall acknowledge Him.'[2] Listen, also, to what was foretold concerning the suffering and torment the wicked will endure; here are the words of the prophecy: 'Their worm shall not rest, and their fire shall not be quenched.'[3] Then shall they repent when it will avail them nothing. What the tribes of the Jews will say and do when they see Him coming in glory has been thus foretold by Zacharias the Prophet: 'I will order the four winds to collect together the scattered children; I will command the north wind to carry them, and the south wind not to strike against them. And then there shall be great lamentation in Jerusalem, not the lamentation of mouths or of lips, but

1 Ezech. 37.7.
2 Isa. 45.24.
3 Isa. 66.24.

the lamentation of the heart; and they shall tear not their clothing, but their thoughts; they shall lament tribe by tribe, and then they shall look upon the One whom they pierced, and they shall exclaim: "Why, O Lord, have You made us wander from Your way? The glory which our fathers blessed has for us become a shame." [4]

Chapter 53

We could produce many other prophecies, but we refrain from doing so, since we think that those above-mentioned are sufficient to convince those who have ears to hear and understand, and we assume that these persons are also capable of perceiving that we do not make bare statements, such as the fables of the supposed sons of Jupiter, without being able to prove them. Why should we believe a crucified Man that He was the First-begotten of an Unbegotten God, and that He will pass judgment on the entire human race, unless we had found testimonies concerning Him foretold before He came and was made Man, and unless we had seen events happen just as foretold, namely, the devastation of the Jewish land, and men of every race believing through the teaching of His Apostles, and turning away from old customs which they had practised in error; indeed, perceiving ourselves amongst them, and realizing that the Christians from the ranks of the Gentiles are more numerous and more faithful than those from amongst the Jews and Samaritans? All other nations the Prophetic Spirit calls Gentiles, whereas the Jewish and the Samaritan people are called Israel and the House of Jacob. And we can present the prophecy in which it was foretold that the Gentile converts should be more numerous than the Jewish and Samaritan converts. Here

4 Zach. 2.6; 12.10-12; Joel 2.13; Isa. 63.17; 64.11.

it is: 'Rejoice, O thou barren, that didst not bear; break forth and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail; for many more are the children of the desolate, than the children of her who hath a husband.'[1] All the Gentiles were desolate of the true God, worshipping the works of their own making, but the Jews and Samaritans, having been given the word of God by the Prophets, and having always awaited the coming of Christ, did not recognize Him when He did come, except a few, who were to be saved, as the Prophetic Spirit foretold through Isaias, who thus spoke in their name: 'Except the Lord had left us seed, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah.'[2] Now, Moses related that Sodom and Gomorrah were cities, filled with impious men, which God burned and devastated with fire and brimstone, none of the dwellers therein being spared except a certain stranger, Chaldaean by birth, Lot by name; and this man's daughters were also saved. Those who so desire may view their whole countryside even now desolate, scorched, and sterile. To prove that the Gentile converts were foreknown as more faithful and more believing we will quote the words of Isaias the Prophet, which are as follows: 'Israel is uncircumcised in heart, but the Gentiles are uncircumcised in the flesh.'[3] Truly, then, such self-evident truths should convince and lead to faith those who accept the truth, and who are not vainglorious, or slaves of their passions.

Chapter 54

On the other hand, those who pass down the myths fabricated by the poets give no proof of their truth to the youths who learn them, yet we can now show that these myths

1 Isa. 54.1.
2 Isa. 1.9.
3 This quotation is not from Isaias, but from Jeremias 9.26.

were first related through the instigation of evil demons to deceive and seduce all men.[1] For, having heard the Prophets announce the coming of Christ and the punishment of sinful men by fire, they produced many who were reputed to be sons of Jupiter, thinking that they would be able to put the suspicion in men's minds that those things foretold of Christ were fabulous tales, just as were those related by the poets. And these stories were promulgated both among the Greeks and among all other peoples wheresoever they [the demons] heard the Prophets say that Christ would especially be accepted. We will also prove that the demons did not clearly grasp the meaning[2] of what they heard said by the Prophets, but, like erring men, mimicked what was said of Christ. Moses the Prophet was, as we have already stated, older than all writers, and through him, as we also stated above, it was thus prophesied: 'A prince shall not fail from Juda, nor a ruler from his thighs, until He comes for whom it is reserved; and He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles, tying His foal to the vine, washing His robe in the blood of the grape.'[3] When the demons heard this prophetic saying, they proclaimed that Bacchus was the begotten son of Jupiter and that he discovered the vine (so they place wine[4] in his mysteries), and taught that, after he was torn apart, he ascended into heaven. Now, the prophecy of Moses did not expressly define whether He who was to come was the Son of God, and whether, seated on the foal, He would

1 The third of the three things Justin promised (Ch. 23) to prove.

2 An oft-repeated statement of the early Apologists. Cf. Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 2.14.

3 Gen. 49.10.

4 The Mss. have *oinon* (wine) and the reading corresponds well to the context, as Maran (*PG* 6.409) ably proves. Others, like Sylburg, Grabe, Thirlby, Otto and Trollope, change the text to read *ónon*, 'ass,' since Justin's line of reasoning would require mention of an ass.

remain on earth or ascend into Heaven; further, the word 'foal' could mean either the foal of an ass or the foal of a horse. [The demons], uncertain whether He who was foretold would bring the foal of an ass or of a horse as a sign of His coming, and not knowing, as mentioned above, whether He was the Son of God or of man, proclaimed that Bellerophon himself, a man born of man, ascended into Heaven upon his horse Pegasus. And when they heard it foretold by another Prophet, Isaias, that He was to be born of a virgin, and would, by His own power, ascend into Heaven, they pretended that it was Perseus who had done so. And when they realized that it was stated, as we already said, in the prophecies written long before: 'He is strong as a giant to run His course,'[5] they announced that Hercules was strong and had traversed the entire earth. Then, too, when they found out that it had been prophesied that He would cure every illness and raise the dead to life, they brought forward Aesculapius.

Chapter 55

However, not in one instance, even for any of the so-called sons of Jupiter, was the crucifixion[1] imitated. Indeed, this did not occur to them, for, as was proved above, everything concerning the crucifixion was said symbolically. This[2] is the greatest sign of His power and dominion, as predicted by

5 Ps. 18.6.

1 The arguments expressed in this chapter would not seem very forceful to the Christian mind today, but it must be remembered that Justin addressed his words to pagans who considered nothing more vile than the cross. He wanted to show them how irrational was their hatred of the cross which was so much a part of their daily life. Even an astute writer like Tertullian will use the same argument. Cf. *Apol.* 16; *Ad. nat.* 12.

2 I.e., the crucifixion as symbolized by the cross.

the Prophet, and as is shown by all that is visible. For, ponder on all the things in this universe [and judge] whether they could be regulated or be interrelated without this figure [of the cross]. The sea, for instance, cannot be plowed unless the 'token of victory' which is called a sail be securely attached to the ship; the earth, too, is not plowed without it; diggers and artisans do all their work with tools of this shape. And man's form differs from that of irrational animals precisely in this, that it stands erect, with hands extended, and has on its face extended from the forehead what we call a nose, through which the living creature breathes, and this is exactly the figure of the cross. Hence the Prophet said: 'The breath before our face is Christ the Lord.'[3] The very symbols on your own banners[4] and trophies which you use in all your processions show the power of this sign, and you, though unwittingly, use these as signs of your dominion and power. After the death of your emperors you put their images upon this figure and you call them gods in your inscriptions. Thus, since we have tried to the best of our ability to convince you, both by word and by an obvious symbol, we are certain that henceforth we are without blame, even if you should not believe, for our task is now completely accomplished.

Chapter 56

It was not enough for the evil demons to proclaim, before the coming of Christ, that the so-called sons of Jupiter were really born to him. But after Christ appeared and

3 Lam. 4.20.

4 The word for 'banners' is not complete in the Greek text, for only the letters *llomen* are given. In the claromontane text, a later hand corrected it to read: *bixillomen*. This, Maran (*PG* 6.412) claims, was a Greek transliteration of the Latin *vexillorum*.

lived among men, and after they learned that He had been announced by the Prophets, and realized all nations believed in Him and expected Him, they once more, as stated above, produced other men, such as Simon and Menander of Samaria, who by mighty deeds of magic misled, and still mislead, many. As we stated before,[1] this Simon lived in your midst in the imperial city of Rome during the reign of Claudius Caesar, and amazed the sacred Senate and Roman people to such an extent that he was deemed a god and was honored with a statue, like the others whom you venerate as gods. For this reason we beseech that you join with the sacred Senate and Roman people as judges of this our petition, so that whoever is ensnared by Simon's teaching may know the truth and escape error. And, if you will, destroy his statue.

Chapter 57

Nor can the evil demons convince men that there will be no hell fire to punish sinners,[1] just as they could not keep Christ unknown after His appearance on earth. The only thing they could do was to cause us to be hated and be put to death by unreasonable living men, who were taught to indulge their passions in evil ways. Not only do we not hate such men, but, as is evident, we pity them and would like to bring about their conversion. We, indeed, have no dread of death, for it is an admitted fact that one day we must certainly die; nor is there anything new, but the same things follow the same routine, and, if the monotony of these things an-

1 Cf. notes to Ch. 26, above.

1 This seems to be Justin's line of reasoning: There is hope that Simon's followers will be converted, because the demons cannot convince them that there will be no future punishment for the wicked. This future punishment will frighten them into avoiding evil.

noys those who indulge in them even for the space of one year, they should turn their minds to our teachings, in order to have eternal life free from pain and privation. If they do not believe there is anything after death, but affirm that the dead lapse into a state of insensibility, then they do us a favor by releasing us from the sorrows and wants of this life, though in reality they show themselves to be evil, inhuman and prejudiced, for they put us to death, not to give us freedom, but to strip us of life and its joys.

Chapter 58

As previously stated,[1] the evil demons also introduced Marcion of Pontus who even now urges men to deny that God is the Creator of all things in heaven and on earth, and that the Christ foretold by the Prophets is His Son, and he proclaims another god besides the Maker of all things, and likewise another son. Many have believed this man, as though he were the sole possessor of truth, and they ridicule us, even though they do not prove their assertions, but are foolishly snatched away, like lambs by a wolf; they are victimized by the demons and their atheistic teachings. These spirits whom we call demons strive for nothing else than to alienate men from God their Creator, and from Christ, His first-begotten. Indeed, they have clamped down those who are powerless to lift themselves above earthly conditions, and they still clamp them down to earthly things, and to manufactured idols. Besides, they even try to trip those who rise to the contemplation of divine things, and, unless such persons are wise in their judgments and pure and passionless in their life, the demons will force them into ungodliness.

1 Cf. Chapter 26.

Chapter 59

To help you know that Plato plagiarized from our teachers[1] when he affirmed that God changed shapeless matter and created the world, listen to the authentic words of Moses, who was mentioned above as the first of the Prophets and older than the writers of Greece,[2] and through whom the Prophetic Spirit uttered the following words to show how and from what God first created the world: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was invisible and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said: "Be light made." And light was made.'[3] Thus, Plato, his followers, and we, too, have learned, as you yourselves can also be assured, that God by His word created the whole world out of matter,[4] of which Moses had already spoken. We also know that Moses had already mentioned what the poets call Erebus.[5]

Chapter 60

Plato likewise borrowed from Moses when, while inquiring into the nature of the Son of God in his *Timaeus,* he states, 'He placed him in the universe in the manner of the letter *X*.'[1] For, in the writings of Moses it is stated that,

1 I.e., from the teaching of the Prophets.
2 Cf. Chapter 44.
3 Gen. 1.1-3.
4 Cf. Chapter 10, n.1.
5 *Erebos* is the name given to the darkness that prevailed in the western region where the sunless Cimmerian land and Hades were located.

1 Here (*Timaeus,* 36B.C.) Plato is not speaking of the Son of God, but of the soul of the universe. He says that the entire compound of the universe was divided by God lengthwise into two parts, which He joined together at the center like the Greek letter *Chi* (X), and bent them into an inner and outer circle, cutting each other near the point of contact. Justin refers this to the Son of God in the sense that at the creation of the universe the Son was extended in the form of the cross (the letter X). Thus, as does the cross (the letter X), so does the Son extend to every part of the world.

at the time when the Israelites left Egypt and were living in the desert, they encountered poisonous beasts, vipers, asps, and every sort of serpent which brought death to the people, and that Moses, through the inspiration and impulse of God, took some brass, shaped it into the figure of a cross,[2] placed it over the holy tabernacle, and announced to the people: 'If you gaze upon this figure and believe, you shall be saved thereby.'[3] He related that, after this was done, the serpents perished, and tradition has it that the people of Israel were thus saved from death. When Plato read this, he did not clearly understand it, for, not perceiving that the figure of the cross was spoken of, he took it for the form of the letter *X*, and said that the power next to the first God was placed in the universe in the form of the letter *X*. Plato's mention of a third [subsistence] also originated, as we already stated, from his reading of Moses, who said: 'The Spirit of God moved over the waters.'[4] He gives the second place to the Word who is with God, who, as he stated, is placed in the universe in the form of the letter *X*, and the third place he attributes to the Spirit who was said to have been borne over the waters, affirming: 'The Third about the Third.'[5] And hear the Prophetic Spirit foretelling through Moses the future conflagration; these are His words: 'An

2 Num. 21.9: 'Moses therefore made a brazen serpent, and set it up for a sign.' In his *Dialogue* 94, Justin refers to this incident just as it is described above, but here Justin states: 'Moses... took some brass, shaped it into the figure of a cross, placed it over the holy tabernacle ...' In Numbers, no mention is made of a cross or of a tabernacle. In the Septuagint, the word for a sign is *semeion,* which Justin, as did many writers of the time, interpreted as the figure of the cross. According to Maran (*PG* 6.418), Justin used the word tabernacle as an image of the universe. Thus, the cross was placed in the universe, as Plato intimated.

3 Num. 21.8.

4 Gen. 1.2.

5 Pseudo-Plat., *Epist.* 2.312E; Cf. Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 23.

everlasting fire shall descend and shall devour to the pit below.'[6] Thus, it is not that we hold the same opinion as others, but that they all imitate and re-echo ours. You can hear and learn these things from persons among us who do not even know the letters of the alphabet, who are uncultured and rude in speech, but wise and believing in mind; some, too, have been disabled and have lost their eyesight. So you can readily see that things are not the result of human wisdom, but are the pronouncements of the power of God.

Chapter 61

Lest we be judged unfair in this exposition, we will not fail to explain[1] how we consecrated ourselves to God when we were regenerated through Christ. Those who are convinced and believe what we say and teach is the truth, and pledge themselves to be able to live accordingly, are taught in prayer and fasting to ask God to forgive their past sins, while we pray and fast with them. Then we lead them to a place where there is water, and they are regenerated in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated. In the name of God, the Father and Lord of all, and of our Savior, Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost,[2] they then receive the washing with water. For Christ said: 'Unless you be born again, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'[3] Now, it is clear to everyone how impossible it is for those who have been born once to enter their mothers' wombs again. Isaias the Prophet explained, as we already stated, how those who have

6 Deut. 32.22.

1 In this Chapter, and again in Chapters 65, 66, and 67, Justin ignored the *Disciplina arcani* to explain some Christian practices. This was unusual at that time.
2 The Trinitarian formula; Cf. Matt. 28.19.
3 John 3.3. Justin did know St. John's Gospel.

sinned and then repented shall be freed of their sins. These are his words: 'Wash yourselves, be clean, banish sin from your souls; learn to do well: judge for the fatherless and defend the widow; and then come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. And if your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool; and if they be red as crimson, I will make them white as snow. But if you will not hear me, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'[4] And this is the reason, taught to us by the Apostles, why we baptize the way we do. We were totally unaware of our first birth, and were born of necessity from fluid seed through the mutual union of our parents, and were trained in wicked and sinful customs. In order that we do not continue as children of necessity and ignorance, but of deliberate choice and knowledge, and in order to obtain in the water the forgiveness of past sins, there is invoked over the one who wishes to be regenerated, and who is repentant of his sins, the name of God, the Father and Lord of all; he who leads the person to be baptized to the laver calls him by this name only. For, no one is permitted to utter the name of the ineffable God, and if anyone ventures to affirm that His name can be pronounced, such a person is hopelessly mad. This washing is called illumination,[5] since they who learn these things become illuminated intellectually. Furthermore, the illuminated one is also baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who predicted through the Prophets everything concerning Jesus.

4 Isa. 1.16-20.

5 *Photismós*: illumination, commonly used in ancient times as a synonym for baptism.

Chapter 62

After hearing of this baptism which the Prophet Isaias announced, the demons prompted those who enter their temples and come to them with libations and burnt offerings to sprinkle themselves also with water; furthermore, they cause them to wash their whole persons, as they approach the place of sacrifice, before they go to the shrines where their [the demons'] statues are located. And the order given by the priests to those who enter and worship in the temples, to take off their shoes, was imitated by the demons after they learned what happened to Moses, the above-mentioned Prophet. For at this time, when Moses was ordered to go down into Egypt and bring out the Israelites who were there, and while he was tending the sheep of his mother's brother[1] in the land of Arabia, our Christ talked with him in the shape of fire from a bush. Indeed, He said: 'Put off thy shoes, and draw near and hear.'[2] When he had taken off his shoes, he approached the burning bush and heard that he was to go down into Egypt and bring out the people of Israel who were in that land; and he received great power from Christ who spoke to him under the form of fire, and he went down and brought out the people after he performed great and wondrous deeds. If you wish to know about these deeds you may learn them clearly from his writings.

Chapter 63

Even now, all Jews teach that the ineffable God spoke to Moses. Wherefore, the Prophetic Spirit, censuring the Jews

1 Maran (*PG* 6.422) thinks that Justin was here guilty of a slip of the memory, writing mother's brother, instead of father-in-law. Thirlby, on the other hand, claims that he confused the somewhat similar events in the lives of Moses and Jacob.

2 Exod. 3.5.

through Isaias, the above-mentioned Prophet, said: 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel hath not known Me, and My people hath not understood Me.'[1] Because the Jews did not know the nature of the Father and the Son, Jesus Christ likewise upbraided them, saying: 'No one knows the Father except the Son; nor does anyone know the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal Him.'[2] Now, the Word of God is His Son, as we have already stated, and He is called Angel and Apostle; for, as Angel He announces all that we must know, and [as Apostle] He is sent forth to inform us of what has been revealed, as our Lord Himself says: 'He that heareth Me, heareth Him that sent Me.'[3] This will be further clarified from the following words of Moses: 'And the Angel of God spoke to Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush and said, "I AM WHO AM, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of your fathers; go down into Egypt, and bring forth My people." '[4] If you are curious to know what happened after this, you can find out by consulting these same Mosaic writings, for it is impossible to recount everything in this work. What has been written has been here set down to prove that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and His Apostle, being of old the Word, appearing at one time in the form of fire, at another under the guise of incorporeal beings [i. e., as an angel], but now, at the will of God, after becoming man for mankind, He bore all the torments which the demons prompted the rabid Jews to wreak upon Him. Although it is explicitly stated in the Mosaic writings: 'And the Angel of God spoke to

1 Isa. 1.3.
2 Matt. 11.27.
3 Luke 10.16.
4 Exod. 3.2,14-15.

Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush and said, "I AM WHO AM, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," '[5] the Jews assert that it was the Father and Maker of all things who spoke thus. Hence, the Prophetic Spirit reproaches them, saying: 'Israel hath not known Me, and My people hath not understood Me.'[6] And again, as we have already shown, Jesus, while still in their midst, said: 'No one knows the Father except the Son, nor does anyone know the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal Him.'[7] The Jews, therefore, always of the opinion that the Universal Father spoke to Moses, while in fact it was the very Son of God, who is styled both Angel and Apostle, were justly reproached by both the Prophetic Spirit and by Christ Himself, since they knew neither the Father nor the Son. For, they who claim that the Son is the Father are reproached for knowing neither the Father nor that the Father of all has a Son, who, as the First-born Word of God, is also God. He once appeared to Moses and the other prophets in the form of fire and in the guise of an angel, but now in the time of your reign, after He became man by a virgin, as we already stated, by the design of God the Father, to effect the salvation of those believing in Him, He permitted Himself to be an object of contempt and to suffer pain, so that by dying and arising from the dead He might conquer death. But what was proclaimed to Moses from the bush: 'I AM WHO AM, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of your fathers,'[8] meant that those who had died were still in existence, and belonged to Christ Himself. For they were the first of all to occupy themselves in searching for

5 *Ibid.*
6 Isa. 1.3.
7 Matt. 11.27.
8 Exod. 3.14-15.

God; Abraham being the father of Isaac, and Isaac the father of Jacob, as was written by Moses.

Chapter 64

From what has already been stated you can readily perceive how the demons, imitating what Moses said, instigated men to erect at the fountain-heads a statue of her who was called Kore,[1] and claimed that she was the daugther of Jupiter. For, as we stated previously, Moses said: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was invisible and empty, and the Spirit of God moved over the waters.'[2] In imitation of the Spirit of God who was said to be borne over the waters, therefore, they [the demons] said that Kore was the daughter of Jupiter. They likewise viciously affirmed that Minerva was the daughter of Jupiter, not by sexual union, but, well knowing that God conceived and created the world by the Word, they state that Minerva was the first conception; which we consider most ridiculous, to present the female form as the image of conception. Their deeds likewise condemn the others who are called sons of Jupiter.

Chapter 65

After thus baptizing the one who has believed and given his assent, we escort him to the place where are assembled those whom we call brethren, to offer up sincere prayers in common for ourselves, for the baptized person, and for all other persons wherever they may be, in order that, since we have found the truth, we may be deemed fit through our actions to be esteemed as good citizens and observers of

1 *Cora,* maiden or daughter, i.e., Proserpine.
2 Gen. 1.1-3.

the law, and thus attain eternal salvation. At the conclusion of the prayers we greet one another with a kiss.[1] Then, bread and a chalice containing wine mixed with water[2] are presented to the one presiding over the brethren. He takes them and offers praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and he recites lengthy prayers of thanksgiving to God in the name of those to whom He granted such favors. At the end of these prayers and thanksgiving, all present express their approval by saying 'Amen.' This Hebrew word, 'Amen,' means 'So be it.' And when he who presides has celebrated the Eucharist, they whom we call deacons permit each one present to partake of the Eucharistic bread, and wine and water; and they carry it also to the absentees.[3]

Chapter 66

We call this food the Eucharist, of which only he can partake who has acknowledged the truth of our teachings, who has been cleansed by baptism for the remission of his sins and for his regeneration, and who regulates his life upon the principles laid down by Christ. Not as ordinary bread or as ordinary drink do we partake of them, but just as, through the word of God, our Savior Jesus Christ became Incarnate and took upon Himself flesh and blood for our salvation, so, we have been taught, the food which has been

1 The pagans, who misinterpreted the kiss of peace, must not have realized that it was a form of greeting confined to persons of the same sex.

2 *Potérion húdatos kaì krámatos,* a chalice of water and wine mixed with water. It seems, however, that *kráma* is here used as a synonym for wine.

3 Maran (*PG* 6.427) points out that, although Justin wrote his *Apology* at Rome he describes the Eucharist according to the rite of the Eastern Church rather than of the Western Church. For instance, in the Western Church the kiss of peace immediately preceded communion and the deacons distributed only the chalice.

made the Eucharist by the prayer of His word,[1] and which nourishes our flesh and blood by assimilation, is both the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. The Apostles in their memoirs, which are called Gospels, have handed down what Jesus ordered them to do; that He took bread and, after giving thanks, said: 'Do this in remembrance of Me; this is My body.' In like manner, He took also the chalice, gave thanks, and said: 'This is My blood';[2] and to them only did He give it. The evil demons, in imitation of this, ordered the same thing to be performed in the Mithraic mysteries.[3] For, as you know or may easily learn, bread and a cup of water, together with certain incantations, are used in their mystic initiation rites.

Chapter 67

Henceforward, we constantly remind one another of these things. The rich among us come to the aid of the poor, and we always stay together. For all the favors we enjoy we bless the Creator of all, through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit. On the day which is called Sunday we have a common assembly of all who live in the cities or in the outlying districts, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as there is time. Then, when the reader has finished, the president of the assembly verbally admonishes and invites all to imitate such

1 *Di' euchês lógou toû par' autoû*: by the prayer of His word. The word *lógou* does not refer to the Word of God, but to the words of Christ—the words of consecration: 'This is My Body; this is My Blood.' Indeed, Justin quotes these words of Christ to prove to the pagans why Christians believe that the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ.

2 Cf. Luke 22.19; Matt. 26.26-27; Mark 14.22.

3 Cf. Tertullian, *De praesc. haer.* 40. The worship of the Persian sun-god became popular during the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). Julian the Apostate made Mithras his god.

examples of virtue. Then we all stand up together and offer up our prayers, and, as we said before, after we finish our prayers, bread and wine and water are presented. He who presides likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings, to the best of his ability, and the people express their approval by saying 'Amen.' The Eucharistic elements are distributed and consumed by those present, and to those who are absent they are sent through the deacons. The wealthy, if they wish, contribute whatever they desire, and the collection is placed in the custody of the president. [With it] he helps the orphans and widows, those who are needy because of sickness or any other reason, and the captives and strangers in our midst; in short, he takes care of all those in need. Sunday, indeed, is the day on which we all hold our common assembly because it is the first day on which God, transforming the darkness and [prime] matter, created the world;[1] and our Savior Jesus Christ arose from the dead on the same day. For they crucified Him on the day before that of Saturn, and on the day after, which is Sunday, He appeared to His Apostles and disciples, and taught them the things which we have passed on to you also for consideration.

Chapter 68

If you think our statements are in accordance with reason and truth, respect them; if they seem silly, despise them as such. But do not impose the death penalty against those who have done no wrong, as you would against your enemies. For, we forewarn you that you shall not elude the future judgment of God, if you continue to be unjust; and we will exclaim: 'Let God's will be done.' Although on the basis of the letter of the greatest and most illustrious Emperor Adrian,

1 Cf. Ch. 10, n.1.

your father, we could have asked that you command judgment to be made according to our petition, yet, not because of Adrian's decree, but because we know what we ask is just, have we appealed to you with this address and explanation. We have appended a copy of Adrian's letter that you may see that even in this matter we speak the truth. This is the copy:

[*Chapter 69*][1]

I received the letter sent to me by your most illustrious predecessor, Serenius Granianus. It does not seem to me that this report can be passed over without an investigation, lest [blameless] persons be upset and false accusers be given an opportunity to engage in their wicked practices. If, therefore, the subjects of your province can back up their complaint against the Christians, so as to accuse them in court, I do not object to their doing so, but I cannot allow them to proceed solely by noisy demands and shouts.[2] It is far more appropriate, if anyone wishes to make an accusation, that you decide [the question]. So, if anyone accuses the Christians and proves that they broke the law, you must assign the punishment in accordance with the gravity of the crime. On the other hand, by Hercules, be very careful that, if anyone shall accuse these persons [the Christians] merely to calumniate them, you arrest him for villainy and inflict penalties against his guilt.

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1 The famous Rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, the Proconsul of Asia. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 4.8) states that Justin presented to the Antonines a copy of the original Latin letter, which Eusebius himself translated into Greek. Rufinus has preserved the original Latin form.

2 *Axiósesin . . . . boaís,* an allusion to the popular cry in the theatres: *Christianos ad leonem.* Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 40.

[*Chapter 70*][1]

The Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Supreme Pontiff, in the fifteenth year of his Tribuneship, the third time Consul, father of his country, to the General Assembly of Asia, greetings. I should have thought that the gods would have seen to it that such persons [the Christians] should not escape. For, if they were able, they would much rather punish those who refuse to worship them. But you plague these people, charging them with atheistic opinions and with other things which we cannot prove. It would be to their advantage to have the reputation of suffering death because of your accusations, and they overwhelm you by being prodigal of their own lives rather than do what you demand of them. Nor is it proper for you to remind me of the earthquakes that have taken place, and are still taking place, for you who lose hope when they do occur should compare your conduct with that of the Christians who are much more trustful in God than you are. At such a time you appear to ignore the gods, you disregard the temples, and you have no understanding of the worship of God. And so you are envious of those who do worship Him, and harass them unto death. Certain other governors of the provinces had written to my father, of sacred memory, concerning these persons. He replied that they should not annoy such persons, unless it was evident that they were plotting against the Roman government. Many have written to me, too, about them, and I have replied to them in the same fashion by following my father's judgment. If, how-

1 This letter of Antoninus to the General Assembly of Asia is found in Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 4.13), who appeals to Melito of Sardis as authority for its authenticity. In all probability, it was added to Justin's *Apology* by someone else, for Justin makes no mention of it; furthermore, had he known of its existence, he certainly would have used it in his appeal to Antoninus, instead of the letter of Hadrian.

ever, anyone has a charge to bring against a person of this class, merely because he is such, let the accused be absolved of the charge, even if it is clear that he was one of the class; but the accuser shall pay the penalty.

[*Chapter 71*][1]

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Germanicus Parthicus Sarmaticus, to the people and the Sacred Senate of Rome, salutation: I have informed you of my grand plan, and what results I achieved at the border of Germany, when, with resultant toil and suffering, I was hemmed in by the enemy and bottled up in the city of Carnutum by seventy-four enemy regiments, about nine miles away. When these forces were so near at hand, both the scouts and our general Pompeianus told us what we already knew, namely, that the enemy had massed nearby a mixed throng of 977,000 soldiers (and I was shut up by this huge savage mob, while I had only a mixed regiment made up of part of the first, tenth, double and marine legions). When I compared myself and my troops with the vast number of the barbaric enemy troops, I hastened to beseech our country's gods in prayer. When I received no reply from them and when I perceived how far my power had been reduced, I summoned those whom we call Christians. On investigation, I discovered how vast was their number, and I then boiled with rage against them, which was not proper, as I later realized when I perceived their power. They do not begin by preparing their weapons, or shields, or trumpets, for this is hateful to them because of the God they bear in their conscience. Thus, very probably, they whom we consider atheists have God freely enclosed in

1 This letter of the Emperor Marcus to the Senate was also added later by someone else, for Justin had already suffered martyrdom before the events described in the letter took place.

their conscience. Falling to the ground, they prayed not only for me, but for the whole standing army, that they might be relieved of the present thirst and famine. We had not taken water for five days, because none could be obtained; we were in the midst of Germany, on enemy soil. As soon as they fell to the ground and prayed to God, whom I knew not, rain fell from the heavens; upon us it was most cool, but upon the enemies of Rome it was a hail of fire. And immediately after this prayer was felt the presence of God, as of One invincible and indestructible. Because of this, let us permit such persons to be Christians, lest by their prayers they acquire a similar weapon against us. I therefore decree that such a person shall not be accused simply because he is a Christian. But, if anyone be found to accuse a Christian of being a Christian, I want it made clear that he who is charged with being a Christian, and admits that he is one, is accused of nothing other than this, that he is a Christian; but the accuser shall be burnt alive. Nor shall the Governor of the province compel the Christian who confesses and shows he is a Christian to retract; neither shall he imprison him. I desire that these regulations be confirmed by a decree of the Senate, also, and, in order that it might be read, I command this edict of mine to be displayed in the Forum of Trajan. Vitrasius Pollio, the Prefect, will see to it that a copy be sent to all the surrounding provinces, and that no one who desires to use and possess a copy be prevented from obtaining it from the documents which I now make public.